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KAZAK SOCIAL STRUCTURE

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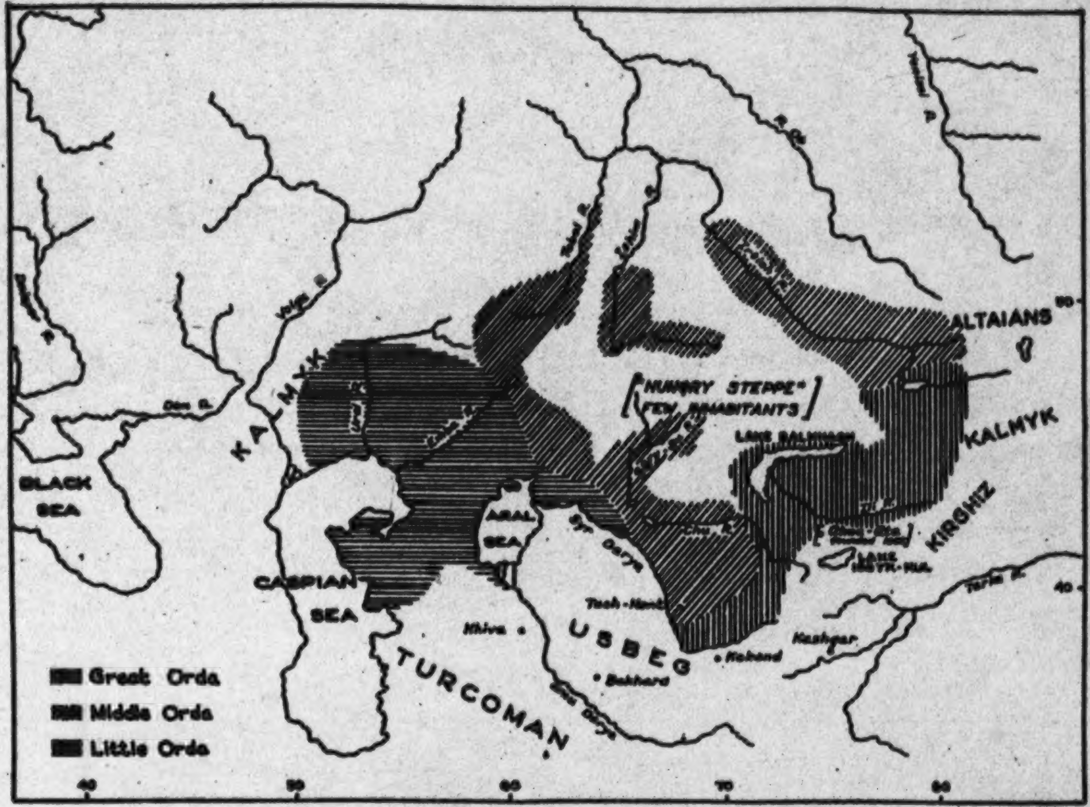
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Ishim R.
Ob
"HUNGRY STEPPE"
FEW INHABITANTS
LAKE BALKHASH
ALTAIANS
KALMYK
KIRGHIZ
Chu R.
Ili R.
LAKE ISSYK-KUL
Tarim R.
Tash-Kent
Khiva
USBEG
Bokhara
Kokand
Kashgar
TURCOMAN
Amu Darya
Great Orda
Middle Orda
Little Orda
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Approximate location of Kazak Ordas and principal surrounding tribes in the middle of the eighteenth century.

KAZAK SOCIAL STRUCTURE

INTRODUCTION

IN this paper I have attempted to explain the nature of certain features of Turco-Mongol 121
social structure by an examination of some of the processes which appear to have been ac- 114
tive in their development. The study is based on information gathered during field work among the Kazak from July to October 1936.[1] Most of the material, unless otherwise indicated, relates to the middle of the nineteenth century, to the period immediately preceding the Russian conquest of Central Asia.

The Kazak,[2] frequently referred to in the older ethnographic literature as Kirghiz, were 101
until very recently a nomadic stock breeding people but are now rapidly adopting a seden-
tary life. They inhabit the steppe country between, roughly, the Caspian Sea and the
Altai Mountains and number, according to the census of 1926, 3,959,000. Traditionally [161]
they were divided into three "hordes" or ordas: the Great Orda in the east and the Little
Orda in the west, with the Middle Orda between them. They speak a Turkic language [197]
which is classed by Deny[3] with Kirghiz and Bashkir as a "western dialect." The Kazak are
definitely Mongoloid in physical appearance with evidence of considerable Caucasoid [144]
admixture among the southern and western groups. Basic Kazak culture, which has been summarized by Murdock[4] is closely related in nearly every aspect with that of the Kirghiz, Turcoman, Kalmyk, and Mongols. Historically the Kazak can be first dated as a distinct people in 1465[5] although the names of some of their constituent groups may be traced much farther back.[6] They were gradually conquered by the Russians during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and now form a republic of the Soviet Union.

Although the literature on the Kazak is large the details of their social organization have remained obscure. They are usually described as divided into a large number of tribes, subtribes, gentes and "branches" whose structure, function and relation to one another are
not clear. In this study I have sought to define the nature of Kazak social groupings, the proc- 121
cess of their origin and their relation to economic life, marriage and the family, class stratification, and political administration.

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[1] Field work was made possible financially by a University Fellowship from the Yale Graduate School and 122
a grant from the Institute of Human Relations of Yale University.

[2] The present official Russian form of the name, transliterated, is Kazakh. This was adopted in order to 104
avoid confusion with Cossack, which is also Kazak in Russian. In Kazak orthography the name is Qazaq but I have used the more familiar form.

[3] Deny, *Les Langues turques*, 202.

[4] Murdock, *Our Primitive Contemporaries*, 135–62.

[5] Muhammed Haidar, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 82.

[6] Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 8.

121 To give perspective in time and space to the Kazak material I have indicated the possible
127 course of development of comparable social institutions among the Mongol tribes. In so doing I have relied chiefly on the work of Vladimirtsov.[7]

From the Kazak and Mongol material, supplemented by information from other groups, it has seemed permissable in conclusion to postulate certain general tendencies which appear to have been active in the formation of Turco-Mongol social structure. It must be emphasized, however, that the interpretations which I have ventured to make are to be considered only as a working hypothesis based on inadequate and incomplete material whose value must be tested by future investigations. More new problems have arisen than there have been solutions found to old ones.

000 Among those in America to whom special acknowledgements are due are my teachers, Dr. Edward Sapir and Dr. Leslie Spier, for aid and encouragement over many years. I am grateful to Professor George Vernadsky for numerous helpful suggestions. My obligations to friends in the Soviet Union are many. I am particularly indebted to the administrations of the Institute of Anthropology, Ethnography and Archaeology of the USSR Academy of Sciences, in Leningrad, and of the Kazakstan Base of the Academy of Sciences in Alma-ata. It would be presumptuous to thank Elizabeth E. Bacon who has shared the field work, research and writing.

115 Field work was considerably hampered by police regulation of the movement of foreigners in Kazakstan which restricted me to the town of Alma-ata and its immediate vicinity. Most of the information came from two informants: Umurzaq Kargabaiev and Nurqumandur Tlenshiev.[8] The former was a man 75 years of age living on the Kalinin Kolkhoz, a collective cattle farm about twenty kilometers from Alma-ata, which occupied part of the land formerly used by Kargabaiev's tribe of the Great Orda. He was well known in the Alma-ata district as a poet and musician and for his knowledge of Kazak traditions, genealogies and epics. He spoke only Kazak. Tlenshiev, 23 years old, came from a branch of the Little Orda in the southern Urals and was a student at the Pedagogical Institute in Alma-ata. His knowledge of Kazak culture was extensive but as regards the former social organization, mostly second-hand. He naturally evaluated old Kazak life in terms of the Marxist philosophy in which he had been educated so that his information must be weighed accordingly. He spoke Russian and acted as interpreter for me with Kargabaiev.[9] There were numerous other occasional informants, members of the Kalinin Kolkhoz and students of the Pedagogical Institute who took part in discussions as they happened to be present. In a somewhat different category was Professor S. J. Asfendiarov, president of the Kazakstan Base of the USSR Academy of Sciences and author of a history of Kazakstan. Although a

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[7] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ.*

[551] [8] The second names are really patronymics used as family names with the Russian termination. Thus Tlenshiev's father was named Tlenshi.

[9] The fact that discussions had to be carried on in a language in which neither the interpreter nor the ethnographer was particularly proficient is regrettably but unavoidably reflected in the quality and quantity of some of the information.

Kazak by birth he was educated in Tashkent and St. Petersburg and his feeling for Kazak culture is more academic than personal. To him, however, I am indebted for many valuable suggestions. 115

From my informants I have derived the general concept of Kazak social groups, as discussed on pages 17 to 22 which I have not found explicitly stated elsewhere. Of published accounts the most useful has been that of Grodekov[10] which, though primarily a study of Kazak common law, contains much valuable material on tribal organization. An analysis of Grodekov's work in French by Dingelstedt[11] has been rather artifically systematized from the point of view of European jurisprudence but I have cited it where it seems to conform to the original. 127 114

The classic accounts of Levshin[12] and Radlov[13] have been the basis of all subsequent work among the Kazak. Particularly useful information has been furnished by the work of Kharuzin,[14] Somoflovich[15] and Rudenko.[16] Other sources are included in the bibliography.[17]

It has been impossible for me as yet to cover all the material relating to Kazak culture. Only a fraction of the published accounts is available in America and even in Soviet libraries it is frequently difficult to find many articles. For suggestions of the most pertinent sources I am indebted to Academician A. N. Samoflovich of the Orientological Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. The most complete bibliography of publications relating to the Kazak is that compiled by Voznesenskaia and Piotrovskii.[18] A list of bibliographies of historical and ethnographical material dealing with Central Asia in general has been collected by Pul'ner and Dobrin.[19]

In discussing Mongol social structure I have largely relied on the analysis by Vladimirtsov of material from Chinese, Mongol and Persian sources. For the early period of Mongol history, through the thirteenth century, the most important of these are the chronicles of Rashid-ad-Din and the so-called "Secret History" of the Mongols. The latter is an account of traditional history composed in Mongolia in 1240 and existing in both a Mongol and a Chinese version.[20] A Russian translation, to which I have referred, has been made from the Chinese text by Palladius.[21] A partial German translation has recently been published by Haenisch.[22]

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[10] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy.*
[11] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier.*
[12] Levshin, *Déscription des hordes.*
[13] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien.*
[14] Kharuzin, *Kirghizy Bukeevskoi Ordy.*
[15] Samoflovich, *Zapretnye Slova,* 161–68.
[16] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov,* 1–72.
[17] See bibliography.
[18] Voznesenskaia and Piotrovskii, *Materialy dlia Bibliografii.*
[19] Pul'ner and Dobrin, *Materialy dlia Bibliografii,* 146–60.
[20] Bartold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion,* 43.
[21] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie.*
[22] Haenisch, *Die letzten Feldzüge Cinggis Han's,* see Pelliot, *Review,* 157–67.

1/[See cat. 116 -- Analyst]

127 114 Rashid-ad-Din was the vizier of Ghazan Khan of the Mongol dynasty in Persia. His work, written between 1298 and 1307 at the commission of his sovereign, contains in addition to an extensive history very valuable accounts of the Mongol and Turkish tribes living in Central Asia in the days of Chingis. I have used the Russian translation by Berezin[23] because the French translation of Blochet[24] unfortunately does not include the section describing the nomad tribes.

Extensive commentaries on these and other oriental sources have been made by Bartold[25] and Bretschneider.[26]

I have also used the accounts of the early European travellers through Central Asia: Marco Polo,[27] Carpini and Rubruck.[28]

104 Kazak words were recorded in the orthography adopted in 1929. This orthography is based on the Latin alphabet with the addition of a few symbols for sounds not readily expressed by Latin characters. Approximate equivalents in English are as follows:

a	as in *father*
b	similar to English *b*
c	as English *sh*
ç	as z in *azure* (similar to French *j*)
d	similar to English *d*
e	as in *let*
ə	as the *a* in *at*
g	as in get
ƣ	(a velar g; no Engish equivalent)
h	similar to English *h*. (It occurs only in foreign loan words.)
i	as in *bit*
j	as *y* in *yellow* (similar to German *j*)
k	similar to English *k*
l	similar to English *l*
m	similar to English *m*
n	similar to English *n*
ŋ	as *ng* in *sing*
o	as in *force*
ɵ	(no English equivalent; similar to German ö)

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[23] Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*. The chronicles of Rashid-ad-Din should not be confused with the much later *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*. The author of the latter work, Muhammed Haidar, named it in honor of Abdur Rashid Khan, ruler of Kashgar, 1533–65.

[24] Rachid-ed-Din, *Djami el-Tévarikh*.

[25] Bartold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol Invasion*, 37–48.

[26] Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, 1: 192–207.

[27] Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*.

[28] *The Texts and Versions*.

p	similar to English *p*
q	(a velar *k*; no English equivalent)
r	similar to English *r*
s	similar to English *s*
t	similar to English *t*
u	as *oo* in *book*
v	as *w* in *bowie-knife*
y	as *u* in *burr*
z	similar to English *z*
ƅ	(no English equivalent; a high back unrounded vowel, pronounced as *u* in *rune* but with lips spread instead of rounded.)

In the transliteration of Russian words I have followed the system adopted by the Library of Congress. Turkic and Mongol words taken from the works of other authors I have used in the form in which I found them, except that those given in Russian characters have been transliterated.

HISTORY OF THE KAZAK

175 101 A discussion of Kazak social organization may be prefaced by a brief survey of their history, which is of interest as indicating certain tendencies reflected in the social structure.

According to Radlov[1] the Persian writer Firdusi mentions the existence of a Kazak khan and Kazak tribe about the year 1000, who were famous for their robberies and depredations.[2] They next appear in Radlov's account in the thirteenth century as forming part of the heritage of Juchi, the eldest son of Chingis Khan. Radlov does not give his source for this statement and it is not clear from the context whether he refers to a definite people known as Kazak or merely means that groups ancestral to the present Kazak were among those subject to Juchi. Apart from Radlov's unknown source I am not aware of any authoritative information to support the former interpretation while the latter is highly probable. Cahun[3] mentions the Kazak as a distinct group in the fourteenth century but his source likewise is not evident.

Both Bartold[4] and Samoĭlovich,[5] however, consider that the name Kazak is of very late origin. Bartold finds it first evident in the fifteenth century when it was applied during the Timurid dynasty to those groups who separated from their established rulers and sought an independent life of their own. This use of the term is in general harmony with the meanings given by Radlov[6] and Samoĭlovich.[7] The numerous and widely variant theories of its ultimate derivation have been reviewed by the latter.[8]

Thus, early in the fifteenth century the name Kazak was used to designate various separatist groups who either established themselves independently or transferred their allegiance from one to another of the numerous khans then reigning in the steppes.

175 These khans were mostly descendants of the house of Chingis. He had allotted to Juchi the tribes occupying the western part of his dominions and known as the Golden Horde. When Juchi, however, died in 1225 before his father, his share of the empire was further divided among his several sons. The eastern section of Juchi's inheritance, which was known as the White Horde and comprised the southern part of the present Kazakstan, was allotted to his eldest son Orda, while the western or Blue Horde, about the lower Volga, went to his second son Batu. North of the White Horde, between the Ural and Chu Rivers were the territories assigned to Shaiban, the fifth son of Juchi. Khanates were likewise established

[1] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 193.

[2] Levshin, *Déscription des hordes*, 136.

[3] Cahun, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'Asie*, 479.

[4] Bartold, *Kazaḳ*.

[5] Samoĭlovich, *O Slove "Kazaḳ."*

[6] Radlov, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches*, 2: 364.

[7] *Op. cit.* 13.

[8] *Idem*, 5–13.

for two other sons, one on the middle Volga and the other northeast of the Caspian between 175
the Ural and Emba Rivers.[9]

The next two centuries were marked by continual conflict among the descendants of these sons of Juchi and with the heirs of other branches of the house of Chingis to the south and east. Whenever particular khans gained ascendancy over a part of the steppes there ensued new groupings and rearrangements of their tribal followings. Thus in the middle of the fifteenth century, Abulkhair, a descendant in the sixth generation from Shaiban, became khan of a confederacy of tribes calling themselves Usbeg although that name was taken from a descendant of Batu.[10]

It was from these Usbeg, according to *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, that there branched off the group which formed the nucleus of the Kazak. The somewhat bald account is as follows:[11]

> On the death of Abulkhair Khan the Ulus [i.e., people, dominions] of the Usbegs fell into confusion and constant strife arose among them. Most of them joined the party of Karai Khan and Jani Beg Khan. They numbered about 200,000 persons and received the name of Usbeg-Kazak. The Kazak sultans began to reign in the year 870 [1465–66 A.D.] and they continued to enjoy absolute power in the greater part of Usbegistan till the year 940 [1533–34 A.D.]. Karai Khan was succeeded by Baranduk Khan who was in turn succeeded by Kasim Khan, the son of Jani Beg Khan. Kasim Khan subdued the whole of the Dasht-i-Kipchak.[12] His army numbered more than a thousand thousand men.

One may view with some scepticism the impressively round numbers mentioned in this chronicle but the date provides a convenient starting point from which to reckon the independent existence of the Kazak. It has been so accepted by Bartold.[13] A slightly different version is given by Bretschneider.[14] Asfendiarov suggests,[15] probably correctly, that the distinction between the Usbeg and Kazak developed gradually and that it is not permissable to speak of a Kazak "nation" before the sixteenth century.

It is worthy of remark that the name "Kazak" which was applied to the separatist [101]
group at the time of its division from the Usbeg was generally given at that period to members of a khan's following who forsook him for other leaders. This suggests that the origin of the Kazak was merely another instance of a general tendency among the steppe nomads. Smaller groups on breaking away from their old leaders perhaps allied themselves to new ones but the Kazak appear to have been sufficiently powerful at the time of their separation to attract to themselves fragments of other tribes.

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[9] Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, 2: 141–42; Ibn Battúta, *Travels in Asia and Africa, 1325–1354*, 356; Skrine and Ross, *The Heart of Asia*, 182; Lane-Poole, *The Mohammedan Dynasties*, 222–40.

[10] Bretschneider, *op. cit.*, 2: 142; Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, 238.

[11] Muhammad Haidar, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 82.

[12] Dasht-i-Kipchak: an indefinite term applied to the region east and north of the Caspian.

[13] Bartold, *Istoriia Turetsko-mongol'skikh Narodov*, 18; see also Skrine and Ross, *Heart of Asia*, 182.

[14] Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, 2: 142.

[15] Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 77–81.

175 Certainly the Kazak, within a hundred years of their separation from the Usbeg, numbered among themselves many groups of diverse tribal origin, such as Kipchak, Naiman, Kongrat, Djailair and Kangli[16] whose names are found among other Turkic and Mongol peoples. Baber[17] refers to the Kazak in his time (1483–1530) as a powerful people, and at the time of Jenkinson's journey (1558) to Central Asia they controlled the cities of Tashkent and Turkestan.[18]

The tendency to fission and separation, however, soon made itself evident again and resulted in the division of the Kazak into three hordes or ordas. There is no authoritative evidence indicating exactly when, how, or why the division occurred. Vel'iaminov-Zernov[19] has suggested that it dates from the seventeenth century when the cities of Tashkent and Turkestan, with the surrounding country, were occupied by Kazak groups. These groups, according to Vel'iaminov-Zernov, tended to become partly sedentary and thus distinguished from the pure nomads to the east and west of them. From this cultural differentiation, he thinks, developed the three divisions. Radlov[20] considers this theory highly improbable, and believes that the separate ordas did not come into existence until the eighteenth century, although he admits that no one knows the precise circumstances of their origin. A Russian map of 1673[21] refers vaguely to the Kazak ordas, in the plural, but as they are not specified this may be merely a general term. Bartold[22] accepts the division into ordas as already existing at the end of the seventeenth century but points out that they were temporarily reunited under the khan Tiavka during the first years of the eighteenth century. Howorth,[23] without giving reasons for his belief, thinks that the division "may most reasonably be traced" to Tiavka. Asfendiarov[24] suggests that the separation developed gradu- [221] ally from the requirements of nomad economy: Kazakstan is naturally divided into three pastoral regions by the availability of suitable summer and winter grazing grounds which correspond roughly to the locations of the three ordas.

This last suggestion is of interest in relation to the fact that the ordas tended to become merely geographical expressions and during long periods were lacking in any political unity within themselves. The Great Orda particularly was broken up into a number of groups under rival leaders.[25]

As evidence of the lack of stability of the ordas and also of the process by which they may have developed one may observe the appearance at the beginning of the nineteenth century of a fourth orda. This group consisted originally of about 7,000 people from the Middle and Little Ordas who followed their leader Bukei in 1801 to the steppes north of the Caspian. Here their numbers were soon increased by the addition of fragments of other Kazak, Nogai, Karakalpak and Kirghiz groups who collectively were known as the Bukei Orda from the name of their khan.[26]

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[16] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 193; Levshin, *Déscription des hordes*, 138; Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 8.

[17] Beveridge, *Babur-Nama in English*, 23–24.

[18] Jenkinson, *Early Voyages and Travels*, 72: 90–91.

[19] Vel'iaminov-Zernov, *Izsledovanie o Kasimovskikh Tsariakh*, 10: 382–83.

[20] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 194–95.

[21] Baddeley, *Russia, Mongolia, China*, 1: cxxxix.

[22] Bartold, *Istoriia Turetsko-mongol'skikh Narodov*, 26.

[23] Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, 2: 640–42.

[24] Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 81–82.

[25] Howorth, op. cit., 2: 674.

In this connection it may be noted that the term orda means simply the "court or headquarters of a khan."[27] Carpini[28] says of the word: "... sic enim stationes imperatoris apud eos et principum appelantur."[29] By extension, however, the word may be applied to all the people subject to a particular khan, in somewhat the same way, for example, that an ambassador accredited to the "Court of St. James" is thought of as ambassador to Great Britain. There is still another Kazak term, çyz, referring to the divisions themselves as distinguished from the restricted use of orda. According to the Kazak dictionary of Begaliev and Gavrilov,[30] çyz means a person or individual; one hundred; the edge of a blade; surface; exterior, appearance, features; as well as one of the three major divisions. The process by which the basic meanings of the word have been extended to include the last is not clear.[31] It is possible, however, that the "one hundred" meaning may originally have had some military significance,[32] which was identified with the orda groupings. My informants were unable to explain to me, or more accurately, I was unable to understand clearly the distinction in use between orda and çyz. They nearly always employed orda but it may have been done for my benefit.

After their separation the ordas were occasionally reunited under an especially competent khan or in the face of a common danger.[33] This happened during the reign of Tiavka at the beginning of the eighteenth century as mentioned above[34] and again in 1738 for protection against the attacks of the Kalmyk.[35] They were never, however, able to unite against the Russians, who successfully played off one Kazak leader against another.

Although commercial and occasional diplomatic relations had existed between Russia and the Kazak khanates from the time of their formation,[36] it was not until the first half of the eighteenth century that Russian expansion to the east and south provoked an active clash of interests. By 1720 Russia had occupied the northern steppes along the Irtysh[37] and a few years later (1732) the Khans of the Little and Middle Ordas, being at the time hard pressed by their enemies, acknowledged the suzerainty of Russia in return for protection.[38] Yet this submission did not mean Russian control over the nomads. The Russians merely accorded recognition to particular khans who seldom enjoyed more than a nominal control over their people.[39] Meanwhile some groups of the Great Orda paid tribute to the Chinese emperor and others were strongly under the influence of Kokand and Bokhara.[40] Russian occupation of the steppes did not become truly effective until the middle of the nineteenth century, when the capture of Tashkent in 1865 was followed by the conquest of all Turkestan.

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[26] Kharuzin, *Kirgizy Bukeevskoi Ordy*, 26, 33–35, 38; see also Levshin, *Déscription des hordes*, 297; Ujfalvy de Mezö-Kövesd, *Expédition scientifique*, 2: 21, Schuyler, *Turkistan*, 1: 34.

[27] Begaliev and Gavrilov, *Kazaksko-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 159.

[28] *The Texts and Versions*, 44.

[29] See also Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches*, 1: 58, note.

[30] *Idem*, 96.

[31] It is interesting to note, however, that in modern Osmanli Turkish the same word means "part," "portion," "division." Muhtar, *Türkçe-Fransizca Yeni Lugat*, 59; Gordlevskiĭ and Magazanik, *Turetsko-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 183.

[32] See below, page 96.

[33] Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 81–82.

[34] Bartold, *Istoriia Turetsko-mongol'skikh Narodov*, 26.

[35] Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 83–87.

[36] Baddeley, *Russia, Mongolia, China*, 2: 24, note A.

After the solidification of Russian power important changes were made in the administration of the Kazak.[41] Until this time the groups nominally subject to Russia had enjoyed almost complete autonomy under their own khans and within their own tribal system. In 1868, however, the entire steppe was divided into a number of administrative units among which the tribal groups were apportioned arbitrarily. Local officials were elected subject to government supervision and Kazak common law was systematized.[42] There is some evidence that the native Kazak organization was rather lightly abandoned by the people. Thus Radlov[43] observes that the names of the official subdivisions had very quickly acquired more significance than the old tribal names, and Schuyler[44] in 1873 found that "the clannish feeling for the members of the same family and tribe is being transferred to the members of the same volost and district." My own informants usually started discussions of tribal organization in terms of Tsarist administrative units.

The regulations of 1868 remained in force with minor changes until the revolution of 1917 and the subsequent organization of Kazakstan as an autonomous republic within the Soviet Union.

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[37] Skrine and Ross, *Heart of Asia*, 242.

[38] *Ibid.*; Schuyler, *Turkistan*, 1: 31; Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 86–88.

[39] Schuyler, *op. cit.*, 1: 32.

[40] Asfendiarov, *op. cit.*, 87.

[41] The numerous decrees and regulations regarding the administration of the steppe provinces from the 1820's on, are indexed alphabetically and chronologically in the "Complete Laws of the Russian Empire" (*Polnoe Sobranie Zakonov*).

[42] Schuyler, *Turkistan*, 1: 32–33; Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 146–55.

[43] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 238.

[44] Schuyler, *op. cit.*, 1: 34.

NATURE OF KAZAK SOCIAL GROUPS

Nearly all ethnographic accounts which touch upon the social organization of the Kazak 6 | describe them as divided into a number of tribes which are subdivided into sub-tribes or gentes and these again further divided into yet smaller groups.[1] How far this process of subdividing may extend is indicated by Rudenko's study of the Naiman group of Kazak in the foothills of the Altai in which he lists 760 named groups extending, in some cases, through a series of 17 strata of subdivisions.[2]

As a first step in analyzing Kazak social structure it is necessary to consider the nature of the named groups, their relation to one another and the significance of the several orders, or magnitudes, of subdivisions. In such a consideration the problem of terminology immediately intrudes. Any discussion of the subdivisions would seem to involve the application of type names to the various strata and the possibilities are soon exhausted.

In this difficulty recourse might be had to employing the native terminology. In attempting [104] to do so, however, it becomes apparent that many Kazak, and all of those with whom I worked, had but one inclusive term or variations of one term for all the magnitudes of social groupings usually described in the literature as tribes, sub-tribes, gentes and their branches. This term was given by Tlenshiev in Kazak as urЪv. Asfendiarov[3] in Russian writes uru and a few lines later both uru and uruk. Begaliev and Gavrilov do not give urЪv but define ṛuv[4] as Russian "rod"—race, family, clan, generation; or "plemia"—tribe, race, family. The form urЪq they translate[5] as "family, posterity." Vladimirtsov[6] defines urux or uruġ in Mongol as "descendant, offshoot of a given gens." In Yakut, according to Seroshevskiĭ,[7] uru means "relationship in general."

My informants agreed that this word or a cognate is the term which is applied in Kazak to all types of social groupings usually understood as tribes, gentes and their subdivisions. Tlenshiev understood the use of the Russian plemia (tribe) as referring to a more inclusive group than rod (gens) but said there were no such distinctions in Kazak. The absence of such terms is confirmed by Asfendiarov who writes:[8]

> It is curious that among the Kazak there is only the single indefinite term uru which signifies

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[1] See, among others, Levshin, *Déscription des hordes*, 304; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 514; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 144; Samoĭlovich, *Zapretnye Slova*, 162; Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaķi*, 8.

[2] Rudenko, *Ocherķ Byta . . . Kazaķov*, table facing page 334.

[3] *Istoriia Kazaķstana*, 100.

[4] *Kazaķsko-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 202.

[5] *Idem*, 252.

[6] *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 59.

[7] Seroshevskiĭ, *IAķuty*, 507.

[8] Idem, 100.

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> tribe and sub-tribe, gens and sub-gens . . . . Among the Mongols of the period of Chingis Khan the tribe was designated as irgen, the gens obox and relatives by the word uruk. But among the Kazaks is preserved only the extremely indefinite term uru.

Samoĭlovich likewise states:[9]

> According to Chopaev [his informant] there are no strictly distinct terms in Kazak corresponding to our tribe, clan, generation, etc. One and the same term is applied in different senses. European tribal terminology applied to Kazak is arbitrary and misleading.

It is, however, not unlikely that some Kazak groups had more precise terms to designate the various magnitudes of social groupings. Rudenko, in a very confused statement, says:[10]

> The sub-group sök is defined by blood relationship as far as seven ancestors. The gens, ruu, is divided into a series of lines, byr top . . . . Furthermore, sub-groups are indicated by the name of an ancestor and finally divided into sök.

[104] One fact at least is clear from this: the Kazak of the Naiman, Karatai and Karakerei groups with whom Rudenko worked in the region of the Altai had in addition to uru or ruu at least two other words, sök and byr top to designate social groupings based apparently on blood relationship. The occurrence of the word sök in this sense among the Altaian Kazak however is suggestive of influence from other Altaian groups because Potanin reports[11] that the gens among the Altaian Tartars was known as sök. The word is also found in Kazak, as in other Turkic dialects[12] in its primary meaning of "bone" and in Kazak occurs frequently as aq syjek (White Bone) and kara syjek (Black Bone) referring to the nobility and common people respectively. Insofar as the nobility, who were all in theory descended from Chingis Khan, may be considered as forming in themselves a gens, the term syjek might be applied in the sense in which it is used by the Altaians, but such usage was not customary among the Kazak with whom I was acquainted.

The words byr top mentioned by Rudenko mean literally "one group," "one crowd," which might well be used to designate sub-divisions of a gens as he indicates, but I know of no further examples of this except perhaps one parenthetical remark by Grodekov[13] in which he says: "They migrate in groups (tap-tap) of a greater or less number of kibitkas [the felt tent of the nomads]."[14]

Czaplicka, after studying the Russian literature relating to all the Turkic groups of

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[9] *Zapretnye Slova*, 162, note 6.

[10] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 59–60.

[11] Potanin, *Ocherki Severo-zapadnoĭ Mongolii*, 4: 1–2, as cited by Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, 54. I have been unable to obtain Potanin's work.

[12] Radlov, *Versuch eines Wörterbuches*, 4: 571.

[13] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 109–10.

[14] In many accounts the felt tents are called "yurts." I have avoided this use of the word because in some places it meant not the dwelling but the land occupied by a group. (See page 81.)

Central Asia, emerged with very unsettled notions of the nature of their gens and tribal system and its divisions. She writes without apparent conviction:[15]

> It is very difficult to define what should be called a clan among the Turks of Central Asia. There seems to be a conception of a political group called, among both the Kirghiz and Kazak *uruḳ* or *ru* . . . possibly a confederation of such clans was once called *el*, while a group of families affiliated by blood is called by the Kazak *taypas* or *tayfa*. . . . An amalgamation of several sub-clans forms a sök (clan).

Here Czaplicka seems to have run afoul of the terminology problem as she designates both the ru and the sök as "clans" but does not connect them. One may sympathize with her difficulty but need not linger over the terms which have already been touched upon. As for the other two, el now occurs in Kazak meaning, according to Begaliev and Gavrilov,[16] "people, population, country, native place, country in distinction to city," but in Turkish of the eighth century, on the basis of the Orkhon inscriptions, apparently meant a "tribal union"[17] in general agreement with Czaplicka's information.

The word tajpa is defined[18] as "group, mass," or as an adjective "compact." The form tayfa would not occur, in Kazak proper at least, where the sound "f" is lacking. I have not found this word used among the Kazak with the meaning which Czaplicka imputes to it and she does not state her source. According to Vambéry[19] the term is used by the Turcoman for a division of a tribe.

The question of the presence or absence among the Kazak of distinct terms applied to various strata in the series of group divisions and subdivisions is not, however, of primary importance to an understanding of the nature and function of the groupings. This may be gained as well with one term as several. For purposes of discussion I shall ignore the possibility or probability of other terms being used in various localities and accept the statement of my informants that only one such term was used by the Kazak to cover all the divisions usually considered as tribes, gentes and their subdivisions. For this term I shall use the word uru as written by Asfendiarov[20] which closely approximates the form used by the informants. It may be defined as meaning a group of kinsmen related through the male line, but varying in its application from a comparatively small one of close relatives to a very large one of many thousand who may actually be related only very distantly or by courtesy of tradition.

This concept of the uru may be illustrated by the traditional account of the structure of the Great Orda as given by the informant Kargabaiev to illustrate his own position in

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[15] Czaplicka, *The Turks of Central Asia*, 40.

[16] *Kazaḳsko-Russḳiĭ Slovar'*, 106.

[17] Bernshtam, *Rodovaia Struktura*, 563–66. See also Kuz'min, *K Voprosy o Turetsko-mongol'skom Feodalizme*, 55.

[18] Begaliev and Gavrilov, *Kazaḳsko-Russḳiĭ Slovar'*, 225.

[19] *Travels in Central Asia*, 348.

[20] *Istoriia Kazaḳstana*, 100.

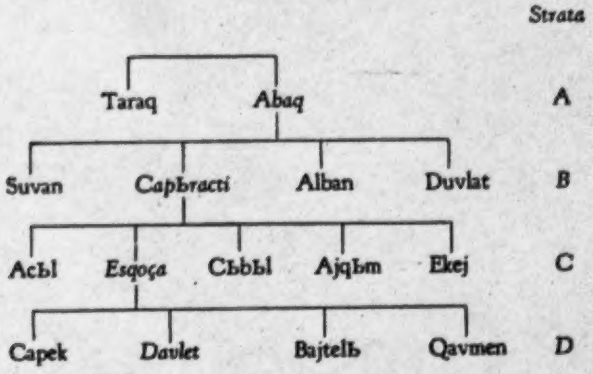
61 Kazak social structure. Kargabaiev did not know the names of all the subdivisions of the Great Orda but only those of the major groupings and of the groups relatively closely related to his own. Even so his account involves some fifty named groups, most of which for the sake of simplicity may be omitted here.

61 173 The traditional founder of the Great Orda had two sons, Taraq and Abaq, each of whom became the founder and progenitor of an uru which bears his name and which genealogically comprises all his descendants through the male line. These two uru may be considered genealogically as the major divisions of the Great Orda and might perhaps be referred to as "tribes" provided the word is used only in a restricted genealogical sense and not taken to imply any kind of functional, political or geographical unity. In order to avoid for the moment the use of such terms I shall only describe the two uru founded by Taraq and Abaq as forming an A-stratum, genealogically speaking, of Kazak society.

Both Taraq and Abaq, according to the legendary account, had in their turn four sons apiece, each of whom became the founder and progenitor of an uru bearing his name, and these eight uru may be considered as forming a genealogical B-stratum in the Great Orda. Similarly from each uru of the B-stratum branched out a number of uru forming altogether a C-stratum and from these in turn a D-stratum, each stratum containing a larger number of uru than the one preceding it.

This process may be indicated more simply by means of a diagram illustrating the relation of Kargabaiev's group to others. From the diagram I have omitted all uru not related directly to the informant's.

Great Orda



Kargabaiev belongs to the Davlet uru which is descended from Esqoça which claims descent from Capьracti, one of the four sons of Abaq.

It is necessary to distinguish clearly between this diagram as representing a traditional genealogy and as representing the relationships of actual groups. Considered as a genealogy the original Davlet, the founder of the uru of that name, was the son of Esqoça who was the son of CapЪracti and the grandson of Abaq. This is the way in which Kargabaiev interprets it. This allows four generations for the development of all the groups to a condition which they have maintained ever since. The younger and more sophisticated Kazak consider such genealogies as legends which give a more or less theoretical account of group origins. 61 173

It should be observed here that the traditional accounts and the names of eponymous ancestors vary widely from one Kazak group to another,[21] although the general pattern is always the same. This condition would naturally result from the heterogeneous historical origin of the Kazak and has no doubt been favored by the wide extent of their territory. It is likely that a particular group in the course of becoming identified with the Kazak would preserve their own already existing tribal genealogies and merely extend them to include other Kazak. As a result, although all Kazak consider themselves descended from one ancestor, the name of that ancestor varies from one group to another.

The common pattern of the genealogies, however, provides a convenient starting point for an examination of the relations between the several groups and strata. 61

At first glance it would appear that an uru of the B-stratum, for instance, would not actually exist except as the sum of its component parts, that is, the uru of the C-stratum which have branched off from it. The diagram suggests for example that the CapЪracti group in the B-stratum consists of its subdivisions (AcЪl, Esqoça, CЪbЪl, AjqЪm, and Ekej) in the C-stratum and has no actual existence as a group in itself apart from them. Such, however, is not the case. A B-stratum uru should rather be considered as a parent group which produces offshoots forming the C-stratum but continues as a social unit in itself after the birth of its offshoots. Thus a man may belong to a B-stratum uru without belonging to any C-stratum group.

Further, the uru of the C-stratum can be considered as subdivisions of the B-stratum uru only in a genealogical sense. Actually they were independent groups with their own leaders and own areas of migration, sometimes far removed from those of the parent uru. They might in many cases be larger and more powerful than the parent uru against which they would wage war as enthusiastically as against some quite unrelated group.

This condition may be explained by examining the process of formation and development of new groups. It is obvious of course that a new uru did not arise with every fresh generation. According to Tlenshiev what usually happened when a man's sons came of age was that he provided them with their own kibitkas and a share of his own cattle. They customarily placed their kibitkas side by side with his and continued to graze their cattle along with those of their father. During the course of generations, however, the economic pressure of inadequate grazing lands for an increasingly large group sometimes induced an

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[21] Kharuzin, *Kirgizy Bukeevskoi Ordy*, 26.

61 enterprising son of some important family to strike out for himself with his herds, his dependents and other bold or dissatisfied individuals who wished to follow him. This seceding group came in the course of time to consider itself a separate and independent uru, known by the name of its founder although still tracing its descent from the parent group. In the beginning relations between such senior and junior groups might have been very close but eventually the self interests of the two groups, and particularly the conflicting ambitions of rival leaders outweighed any claims of kinship.

It now becomes apparent that the term uru may be considered from two points of view: first in a functional sense as applied to one group fairly closely related, living together as an economic and political unit under their own leader; the second, in a purely genealogical sense as applied to any number of groups claiming descent from a common ancestor however remote. Thus in the latter usage of the word all the groups in the D-stratum of our diagram, namely Capek, Davlet, Bajtelb and Qavmen may be considered as one uru by reason of their common descent from Esqoça in contrast to some other group of D-stratum uru descended, for example, from Ekej. Or again all the many independent and frequently hostile groups claiming descent from Abaq can be regarded as one uru in contrast to any group descended from Taraq. But in the sense of functioning economic or political units all the uru of every stratum were separate, equal, and independent groups.

The error of regarding a number of D-stratum uru, for example, as merely branches or subdivisions of the parental C-stratum uru is illustrated in the use of the urans. These were the war cries of uru groups in battle, used also to encourage the champions representing them in horse races and games. If members of the D-stratum uru Capek, Davlet, Bajtelb and Qavmen were at the same time considered members of Esqoça from which they had branched off, they should be entitled to use the Esqoça uran. But this very definitely was not the case. Kargabaiev not only would never think of using the Esqoça uran but could not think of himself as in any way entitled to so do. A member of Davlet definitely did not regard himself as also a member of Esqoça. He only traced his descent from that group. His ability and privilege to do so, however, were of considerable importance. A knowledge of the place of one's own group in the genealogical structure of the whole orda was essential when meeting strangers or for the proper observance of seniority at various social occasions.
[576] When meeting anyone the first question was always "What is your uru?" and in reply one gave the name of the last and smallest subdivision which one thought would be familiar to the questioner. If it were unknown to him it would indicate that he was probably from a rather distant group and one would try again with the name of a more inclusive group of a higher stratum. If the encounter was with one of a fairly close group familiar with the name of the immediate uru it would be necessary only to give the names of one's immediate ancestors.

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61 Hospitality was, to some extent at least, regulated by the seniority of the groups;[1] thus at feasts and general gatherings representatives of several groups who were present were

[1] [See cat. 116, pp. 21-22 -- Analyst]

allotted places of honor according to the seniority of the guest's uru.[32] According to Grodekov also a guest was treated well or ill according to his knowledge of the tribal gradations.[33] This perhaps may be related to the fact which he mentions elsewhere[34] that it was only the upper classes who knew the ramifications of the numerous groups while the knowledge of the common people was restricted to the genealogies of their immediate ancestors. From this it would follow that a guest well versed in genealogy was of the upper class and entitled to respect. 574 61 [565]

Grodekov also states[35] that there was an order of precedence running through all three ordas with the youngest uru of the Great Orda having seniority over the senior uru of the Middle Orda and so down to the last group of the Little Orda. This was vigorously denied by my informants, who said that the Great Orda possibly may have thought so but certainly no one else did. Kuftin[36] also speaks of the principle of seniority running through the ordas but his wording reads almost like a paraphrase of Grodekov from whom he may have taken the statement. Tlenshiev said there may have been such a system of precedence but it would be based not on seniority but on strength and importance at any given time because no one knew which of the ordas was supposed to be the oldest. 61 554

One may summarize the basis of Kazak social structure by saying that it consisted of a large number of separate groups each claiming descent from it's founder and bearing his name. These groups considered themselves as related to, but independent of, other groups from which their ancestor had come. 61

The nature of these groups can best be clarified by considering their functional aspects which I shall first do in relation to economic life.

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[32] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 7–8.
[33] *Idem*, 27.
[34] *Idem*, 12.
[35] *Idem*, 7–8.
[36] Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 9.

KAZAK SOCIAL GROUPS IN RELATION TO ECONOMIC LIFE

NOMADIC UNITS

621 In considering the economic aspects of the uru group as a functioning unit we encounter a new term, aul. Roughly it is possible to say that the aul was co-extensive with the uru in the sense of a group living together. One of my informants in the initial stages of a discussion of this point said "the aul is an uru and the uru is an aul." This, however, was no doubt an oversimplification for the benefit of the ignorant but curious ethnologist, because further [61] inquiry reveals one fundamental distinction. The members of an uru were all blood relatives in the male line, or assumed to be such, while an aul might contain various individuals from outside the blood group. A man might change his aul simply by going to live in another, but could not change his uru. In the old days, according to Kargabaiev, they corresponded closely because then it was very unusual to go and live among strangers. In any case it appears that a majority of the members of an aul would be members of the same uru.

The aul may be defined as a "mobile village"[1] or nomadic encampment. Here again, however, the problem of subdivisions appears because the term aul is applied by different writers to groups of differing magnitudes. As will be explained in more detail later, it was customary for the uru group and its alien associate members who passed the winter living as a compact unit to split up with the coming of spring into smaller groups for the pasturage of their herds. These smaller groups consisted of perhaps half a dozen kibitkas, usually belonging to one family, while half a mile or a mile away would be another such group of kibitkas, with numerous other similar clusters of habitations scattered over the whole area customarily occupied by the uru group. The point at issue is whether the single clusters may be called auls or whether all the diffused and scattered camps taken as a whole constituted an aul.

My informants used the word in the latter sense. According to Tlenshiev the small group of five to ten kibitkas would not be an aul but an yj (family or house). An aul would normally consist of several hundred kibitkas. This is also the sense in which Kargabaiev used the word. His aul was named Karastaq ("black place," i.e., where the snow never lies) and comprised about 500 kibitkas and approximately 3,000 people. It is interesting to note here that the name of his aul was not the same as that of his uru, Davlet. Usually, however, the two seem to have been the same, the aul taking on the name of the uru to which the majority of its members belonged, which was, as explained above, the personal name of its traditional founder. In this case, however, Karastaq is a place name which had been adopted by the aul.

According to Grodekov the average aul comprised about 300 kibitkas but the number

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[1] Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 312.

might vary from fifty to a thousand or more.[2] Radlov, however, says[3] that the aul consisted 621
of six to ten families, and Lansdell[4] estimates ten in the Orenburg region but frequently fifteen or more farther south. Levshin is noncommittal and remarks[5] that the number of tents comprising an aul "... depends upon circumstances." Vladimirtsov,[6] in dealing with Mongol material, contrasts the aul (Mongol: ayil) manner of migration in small groups to an earlier practice of migrating in units of several hundred kibitkas, but one must be wary of assuming that similar terms in Mongol and Kazak mean the same thing.

In general it seems likely that the term aul does not apply to any definitely fixed group but signifies any kind of encampment. The size of these encampments varied considerably with the seasonal round in the economic life of the Kazak, which we may now consider.

SEASONAL VARIATIONS

There were three important periods in the yearly cycle of Kazak economy, corresponding roughly to summer, autumn and winter. 221

Summer (çaz) was the period of pasturage on the open ranges, involving journeys from one pasture to the next as the first became exhausted. In some places also this was the time at which hay was gathered as winter fodder for the herds. Autumn (kyz) when the shearing (kyzem) of the sheep took place, was the busiest period of the year for most Kazak. It was also the time to make preparations for winter, to finish storing away the hay, to repair the roof and walls of the winter habitation and, among those groups which had agriculture, to harvest the crops. The winter season (qьs) was one of comparative rest and relaxation.

The dates for beginning the migration to summer pastures varied with the locality, the climatic conditions of the particular year, and the habits of the group. Generally it was about the end of May or beginning of June. This was the case with Tlenshiev's group in the Uralsk region and also with Kargabaiev's in the vicinity of Alma-ata. Rudenko writes of the Kazak in the southern foothills of the Altai:[7] "Some leave at the first show of green but most in the latter part of May or first of June. . . . The wealthy start earlier than the poor people." Kuftin however says:[8]

> The Kazak of the northern districts move out during the second half of March, but in the south at the end of February or beginning of March because of the necessity of passing the barren sandy tracts before hot weather while the steppes are still covered with fresh vegetation and there are no spiders and insects to harass the cattle.

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[2] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 147.
[3] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 513.
[4] Lansdell, *Russian Central Asia*, 319.
[5] *Description des hordes*, 312.
[6] *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 37.
[7] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 4.
[8] *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 21–23.

221 It is difficult to get precise information on the distances covered by different groups in the seasonal migrations. There appears to have been a great deal of variation. My own information indicates that such journeys were much shorter than is usually assumed to be the case, but this may be because both principal informants belonged to groups which lived near the mountains, so that it was only necessary to go a short distance to find good pasturage in the valleys and foothills. Kargabaiev's group, for example, went only about nine kilometers, while Tlenshiev's group used to go twenty or thirty kilometers or perhaps farther if conditions in any particular place proved unfavorable. In any case they were not familiar with migrations covering hundreds of miles. On the other hand Kuftin[9] speaks of journeys of hundreds of versts[10] ". . . from the southern desert latitudes to the northern steppes" and back again at the end of summer. Karutz[11] says that the Kazak of the Mangyschlak region would go from Uralsk in the north to Krasnovodsk in the south, a straight line distance of about 1,300 kilometers, and from the eastern shore of the Caspian to the west bank of the Aral Sea, an average distance of about 375 kilometers. In this connection it is interesting to note that at present in Mongolia the longest migration[12]

> . . . in the yearly cycle is well under 300 kilometers. The average is about 150. To travel immense distances in search of pasture is not only difficult, it is against all nomad traditions, nor is it necessary for them in order to maintain their herds.

The most complete information on migratory habits is given by Rudenko.[13] One group in the southern Altai whose winter quarters was on the left bank of the Bukhtarma River, a tributary of the Irtysh, left winter quarters about the first of June and proceeded along the river to make their first camp about 50 kilometers from the starting point. Here they remained for ten days and then went 10 kilometers farther on to the second halting place, where they stayed another ten days. The next stop was about 12 kilometers farther on, where they halted for another ten or twelve days. The fourth halting place was some 25 kilometers beyond the third and there they spent the month of July. The return trip began in August and likewise consisted of a few easy stages with halts of about ten days or two weeks at each. They arrived back in the vicinity of winter quarters at the end of September in time to harvest the hay and store it for the winter. The complete circuit was not over 200 kilometers.

Such a routine seems fairly typical of Kazak summer migrations.

Some illumination on the variability in the length of the journeys is afforded by Kuftin's remark[14] that in the districts where agriculture had developed they did not move so far from winter quarters; they prepared the ground, sowed the crops and then departed, leaving 221 the poorer members of the group to keep watch over the planted lands until their return for the harvest.

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[9] *Idem*, 19.

[10] A verst equals 0.6629 miles.

[11] Karutz, *Unter Kirgisen und Turḳmenen*, 49.

[12] Fox, *Genghis Khan*, 9.

[13] *Ocherḳ Byta . . . Kazaḳov*, 4–8.

[14] *Kirgiz-Kazaḳi*, 19.

The difficulty of determining what should be considered the migratory unit has been 221 suggested in the discussion above of the nature of the aul. According to Kargabaiev the 621 Davlet uru and other people living with them, forming together the Karastaq aul, were divided during the period of summer pasturage into groups of five or six related families who set up their kibitkas in one place when they camped and moved together from one part to another of the whole area traditionally utilized by the Davlet uru. He explained that when he had said previously that they only journeyed 9 kilometers to summer pastures he meant it was 9 kilometers from the common winter quarters to the beginning of the upland pastures where they separated into smaller groups.

Such was apparently the condition described by Grodekov[15] in writing, "They migrated as a society of one gens [Russian: rod] but admitted to the aul individuals from other gentes related through the mother's line and also poor people hired as workers. The routes of migration were fixed for each gens which had its designated place for summer and autumn." Then, a few lines later, "They migrate in groups of a greater or less number of kibitkas." The first statement seems to refer to the uru as it may be considered a migratory unit, and the second to its component parts of family groups. A further statement emphasizes this point.[16] "In summer they live more in scattered groups; in winter more compactly. If they lived too closely together in summer there would be an inadequacy of pasture and the cattle would become mixed up."

The small family groups, in theory at least, might camp anywhere convenient for them in the general area occupied by the uru and remain as long as they liked. Grodekov states[17] that the master of each kibitka started out and halted when he wished. The leaders of the 221 uru, the aqsaqal " . . . or, according to some, the rich men, suggest, but do not compel."[18] 621

This indication of the persuasive power of the rich, along with Grodekov's previously 565 quoted remark concerning the presence in the aul of poor people hired as workers, paves the way to a consideration of the distinctions between rich and poor in connection with the yearly round of economic life.

Such distinctions were very marked. It was primarily the wealthy and middle class herd 233 owners who migrated with their animals, taking along with them a large number of herdsmen and shepherds. These, according to my informants, were of two kinds: first, poor relatives of the cattle owner, members of his own uru, who worked for him without pay and toward whom he stood in a patriarchal relation as their patron and protector; and second, hired workers of another uru who received wages. Rudenko writes:[19]

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[15] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 109–10.

[16] *Idem*, 110.

[17] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 110.

[18] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 214.

[19] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 20.

233 The wealthy hire shepherds from among the middle class and poor. They pasture collectively;
[465] if one hires out as shepherd the others help him . . . . A shepherd receives from his master clothing, food, and three or four sheep in payment. A good horse shepherd will receive in addition to food and clothes, a horse.[1]

According to Tlenshiev a young shepherd might get seven woolen cloaks or seven lambs for a year's work while a skilled and experienced worker might receive anywhere from one to ten horses. The regular period of employment was for one year. At the end of that time the herdsman might return to his own uru, go to work for another employer, or continue in his job for another year.

The hired herdsmen, Tlenshiev said, were called malcь from mal (cattle), though in addition to tending the herds they performed any other necessary heavy work about their employer's kibitka. There were several varieties of malcь according to the kind of animal they tended. Sheep herders (qojcь) followed their flocks on foot while cow herds (sьjьrcь) either rode a cow or went afoot. The horse herders (çьlqьcь) were from necessity obliged to
[342] have a mount, but, said Tlenshiev, usually had a broken-down nag assigned to them. The herdsmen and their families did not live in a true kibitka (kyiz yj) but in a rough shelter, called qos or kyrke, formed by an old felt or reed mat supported by three poles.[20] Tlenshiev emphasized the fact that the malcь together with their wives and children never lived in real kibitkas, except insofar as the kyrke might itself be considered a small kibitka. This would indicate that only a part, perhaps not more than half, of the Kazak customarily dwelt in the kibitka as it is usually described.

565 These details were of course provided by Tlenshiev in an enthusiastic effort to indicate
511 to me the severe exploitation to which the lower class of Kazak were subjected by their masters and must be discounted accordingly. They gain however a degree of confirmation from other sources. Rudenko[21] describes the poorer people as living in the kyrke and Zaleskie,[22] after describing a form of dwelling of the poor very similar to a kyrke, adds: "Les plus pauvre passent, en été, la nuit dans la steppe, à la belle étoile, et l'hiver, cherchent un abri dans les kibitka des riches; ils sont . . . considérés sinon avec mépris, au moins avec dédain." Again,[23] in confirmation of the fact that the poor followed the animals on foot, the same author writes, "Les pauvres . . . vont à pied en chassant les troupeaux devant eux . . . ."

233 Among wealthy Kazak the animals were not driven home at night,[24] as was customary
565 among the owners of smaller herds,[25] but were left in the charge of herdsmen on the pastures where there was more grass.[26] A small number of cattle necessary for milking were kept near the kibitkas. Only the wealthy had camels.[27]

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[20] The distinction between the qos and kyrke was that the latter had a small smoke vent.

[21] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 32.

[22] Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 9.

[23] *Idem*, 10.

[24] Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 24.

[25] Atkinson, *Oriental and Western Siberia*, 228.

[26] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 110.

[27] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 14.

[1] [Rudenko in Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov, 20. -- Analyst]

It is clear that there has been a marked change in the herding economy in general during 178
the last few centuries, which has of course been much accelerated during recent generations. 233
Asfendiarov[28] remarks on the increasing restriction of the Kazak nomads during the eighteenth century by the expansion of Russia on the north, China in the east and the sedentary influence of the khanates of Bokhara and Ḳokand in the south. Because of the growth of settled areas it became no longer possible for the nomads to find new pastures during periodic crises due to drought. A struggle therefore developed among the various Kazak groups for the possession of the available lands, with a consequent elimination of the weaker groups. Those who succumbed in this process became hired herdsmen, caravan drivers, turned to agriculture, or went to the cities. Simultaneously the increasing restriction of pasture lands produced a decline of horse culture and an increase of sheep and goat herding. The herding of horses on a large scale was restricted to the rich and powerful, while small horned cattle became the basis of the economy of the poor and semi-settled people. This tendency was further stimulated by the increased demand for wool from the Central Asian markets which made sheep raising profitable. These historical observations receive confirmation from Levshin who observed[29] that at the time of his visit (about 1825) the Kazak in general possessed few horned cattle. He was told that a hundred years previously they had had none at all.

This increase of sheep raising made the autumn, when the shearing was done, a busy 236
time. During this period the social groupings of the summer period of migration remained 221
substantially the same. Although shearing usually took place not far from the site of the winter quarters, it was carried on by groups of a few families as in the case of the summer herding. The poor relatives and hired workers who served the large herd owners in the summer were engaged in clipping the sheep and in making general preparation for winter. This period lasted from August or the first part of September through October, when most groups moved into their winter quarters.

The dwellings for the winter were permanent structures of wattle, adobe, sod, or, more 342
rarely, of wood or stone. They were usually called qьstav but by some groups of the Great Orda, tam. Generally they consisted of one room but those of the rich might contain
several. Adjoining the qьstav were a number of fenced-in sarai, or corrals, surrounded 343
with mud or wattle walls where the animals were kept. There were separate corrals for each kind of animal and sometimes a stable as well, built like the qьstav and frequently connected with it. There were also storage places for the winter's supply of hay. Thus around each qьstav were numerous outbuildings.

In winter the entire uru group and other people associated with it, who during the 621
summer season had been broken up into units of a few families, lived together. Each family as a general rule had its own qьstav so that the winter quarters of a moderate sized group formed a village of several hundred houses as well as outbuildings and corrals.

During the winter season work was not onerous. It consisted largely in caring for the

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[28] *Istoriia Kazaḳstana*, 86–95.

[29] *Déscription des hordes*, 409.

221 During the winter season work was not onerous. It consisted largely in caring for the
621 animals, and in carrying water from the adjacent springs, lake or river. An adequate water supply, in addition to a sheltered location, was the chief requirement of a good site for winter quarters. At this time also there was some work done by individuals specializing as blacksmiths and carpenters.

There appears to have been a significant number of the group, roughly twenty percent according to my information, who spent the entire year in the winter quarters. These people, having few if any animals of their own, occupied themselves in cutting hay in the meadows of their wealthy patrons or, where agriculture had developed, in tending small plots of their own. In addition hunting was for them an important economic resource. A similar observation is made in the handbook *Kasaḳstan i Kirgiziia*:[30]

> The poor people having no possibility to journey, remain at the kstau the year round. In some cases where agriculture is being taken seriously they are tied to the kstau for harvesting and making hay . . . .

It should be noted, however, that according to my informants it was not necessarily the same twenty percent of the people each year who stayed in winter quarters, during the summer, although there appears to have been a definite tendency toward adopting a sedentary life.

The development of permanent habitations for winter occupancy is comparatively recent among the Kazak. On the other hand the practice of spending each winter in the same place in a spot well sheltered and well watered is very ancient and general among all the Central Asiatic nomadic groups. The *Tariḳh-i-Rashidi*[31] has a reference to the Kazak setting out for their winter quarters in the year 919 [1513–14 A.D.]. This need not, however, indicate that these winter quarters were the substantial dwellings found among
[342] most Kazak groups today. At the present time, according to Tlenshiev, there is a group named Adaj in the southern Urals who built no qьstav but lived in kibitkas all the year. My informants, however, considered this as a fact worthy of remark and were all somewhat amused by such backwardness. Kuftin writes:[32]

> Some Kazaks spend the winter in the same yurt [kibitka], only digging it into the ground and inner-lining it with a second coat of felt on the inside, but such Kazaks are found in the southern desert part of the country in very small numbers.

The Kazak in the Altai occupied kibitkas the year round only thirty or forty years ago.[33]
221 Likewise the habit of laying in fodder for the use of the cattle in winter is quite recent.
233 Levshin notes[34] that the Kazak near the border of Russian territory were in his time beginning to store up winter supplies, and also to provide artificial shelters for their

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[30] *Kazaḳstan i Kirgiziia*, 9.

[31] Muhammad Haidar, *The Tariḳh-i-Rashidi*, 277.

[32] *Kirgiz-Kazaḳi*, 35.

[33] Rudenko, *Ocherḳ Byta . . . Kazaḳov*, 32.

[34] *Déscription des hordes*, 312.

animals against inclement weather. Formerly it had been the practice, as was still the case 221
in many places until very recently, to graze the herds in the open throughout the winter. 233
The horses would first break the crust of the snow with their hoofs and eat the tops of the grass, after which the other animals could get at the remaining stalks.[85] Even at the present time[86] most cattle are pastured out during the winter. Rich men especially sent off their cattle to graze under the care of herdsmen since their large herds could not all be accommodated in or near the winter quarters.

Agriculture, except perhaps in the extreme south, where the influence of Bokhara was 241
strong, is an even more recent innovation than the provision of fodder, and less widely practised. Only the poorest individuals who had neither animals nor other means of subsistence resorted to it.[87] The recency of the development of agriculture is apparently reflected in the question of land ownership which will be examined along with other property rights.

PROPERTY RIGHTS

Kazak social structure as manifested in property rights may be considered in relation 422
to ownership of cattle, grazing lands, the winter habitations, and agricultural and meadow land.

Cattle were all held in the individual ownership of members of the group, usually by male heads of families. There is some indication, however, to suggest that they could be considered as belonging to the family as a whole but held in trust and utilized for their benefit by its head. Such a situation, for example, might be implied by the right of sons to demand from their father a portion of his animals on coming of age.

There is also perhaps a suggestion of former even wider communal ownership of cattle in the custom of marking all animals belonging to members of a particular uru with the same cut or brand (taŋba) (usually mentioned in the literature as tamga).[88] To infer from this, however, an earlier communal ownership of cattle is extremely unsafe. Although similar tamgas for a whole uru were widely known it is very uncertain to what extent they were used to mark cattle. In recent times at least most cattle appear to have been marked with a personal individual tamga of their owner. According to my informants group tamgas were not used on animals; each man might have not only his own tamga but a different kind of mark for each kind of animal. This is confirmed by Grodekov who adds significantly[89] " . . . anyone wishing to mark his cattle may *invent* [italics mine] his own tamga but once having adopted it he may not alter it." Although everyone was in theory entitled to his

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[85] See Levshin, *Déscription des hordes*, 412; also Pallas, *Voyages*, 1: 600.

[86] Baronov, Bukeikhan, and Rudenko, *Kazaki*, 8–9.

[87] Levshin, *Déscription des hordes*, 413; Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 53–54; Meyendorff, *Voyage d'Orenbourg*, 38; Wood, *The Shores of Lake Aral*, 108

[88] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 3–4, and supplement, 4–7; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 279; Czaplicka, *Turks of Central Asia*, 41–42.

[89] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 3.

422 own tamga, in practice their use was largely restricted to the wealthy owners of large herds. A poor man with a few animals would know all of them by sight and have no need for a tamga, while the rich man with thousands of cattle and sheep grazing over an extensive territory required a mark of identification for them. Radlov[40] remarks that among the Altaians tamgas were used mostly by the rich since the poor readily recognized their comparatively few horses. In this connection it is possible, though I have no evidence to support it, that group tamgas may have acquired an individual significance. As wealth in cattle tended to be concentrated in the hands of a few individuals who stood in the position of patrons and protectors to large numbers of their poor kinsmen, group tamgas which formerly had marked the animals of all members of the uru, without necessarily implying that they were collectively owned, would more and more be found marking the cattle of its most affluent individual. Thus a group tamga might become identified with a personal tamga of its most important and influential man.

423 The question of the ownership of the summer grazing lands is a difficult one in practice, though not particularly so in theory. Theoretically there was no permanent ownership of the steppe pastures; the utilization of them was based on occupancy and the right of the first comer, but the details by which such right of utilization was determined are hard to discover. In general it may be said that such lands were apportioned more or less by tradition among the various uru groups within the limits of which any members of the group were free to move as they wished.[41] There appear, however, to have been no very clearly defined boundaries and the area occupied by any given uru group was liable to constant shifting. Asfendiarov[42] writes that " . . . actually the boundaries of the Kazak gentes were not delimited." My information on this question is not very satisfactory because concrete material was difficult to obtain. On first raising the question it appeared, as stated above, that each uru group had its own collectively owned territory, the boundaries of which were determined by agreement between the important members of the interested groups. Within these groups the use of the land was allotted to particular families by the aqsaqal. When, however, I sought more specific information on the procedure and bases by which boundaries were determined and lands allotted, difficulties were encountered. Kargabaiev said it was all done by "old custom," while Tlenshiev, after trying to produce examples, reversed his position and said that the summer pasture lands were completely open, unrestricted, and could be used by anyone of any group who chose to do so. This result emerged from a discussion of what would happen if members of one uru were found grazing their cattle on the land of another. According to Tlenshiev nothing would happen; if they arrived first they were entitled to the use of the land; it was not the pasture land but the

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[40] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 279.

[41] Baronov, Bukeikhan and Rudenko, *Kazaḳi*, 9; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 213, 214; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 414–15, 418; Schomberg, *Peaḳs and Plains*, 98; Rudenko, *Ocherḳ Byta . . . Kazaḳov*, 10; Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaḳi*, 24; Czaplicka, *Turḳs of Central Asia*, 45.

[42] *Istoriia Kazaḳstana*, 100.

meadow lands where hay was raised which were restricted. This position he maintained vigorously thereafter. 423

Some light on this difficulty is afforded by the statement:[43]

> Pasture land usually is apportioned among tribal groups but at the present time when the Kazak have not so many cattle they are not very strict about boundaries. A Kazak may go anywhere he wishes . . . . The meadow land, on the other hand, is allotted carefully and remains the inalienable property of the given person.

Most writers, however, indicate that the pasture lands of the uru groups were definitely delimited. Grodekov says that the lands were divided among the various nomadic groups according to the number of their animals but that there were frequent quarrels concerning boundaries.[44] Radlov[45] says that there was a definite division of lands among the "tribes" and that none would permit the trespass of another group in its own territory. Kuftin declares:[46]

> In view of the strict allotment of summer pastures no Kazak considers stopping in a strange place for more than one day. During the migrations each tribe follows a certain route, according to an established habitual law based on prescriptive right. Each summer range is used only by a definite group . . . . Disputable questions are settled by a meeting of representatives of the interested parties. [221]

The degree to which the pastoral area occupied by a particular group was definitely subdivided and assigned among its members is also not clear. Rudenko says[47] that although the land belonged to the "tribal group" and the member of it who came first had the right to the best place, families tended to go to the traditional places and others avoided them. This is even more strongly pointed out by Grodekov in observing that places customarily occupied by a family or group of families came to be considered as theirs by right.[48] On the other hand Radlov[49] says that he knows of no instances of divisions of the summer area among individual families. The apportionment of grazing land among the members of the uru lay in the hands of its leaders and was not always done with fairness. Everyone was free to move about at will within the area of the group. However, Radlov adds significantly, "Natürlich ist diese Freiheit nur in der Theorie eine vollkommene. Der Reiche und Angesehene weiss es natürlich so einzurichten, dass er den besten Platz erhält."

All the evidence concerning the basis of occupancy of the grazing lands is admittedly unsatisfactory. To obtain details it would be necessary to study the question over a considerable period of time in a culture in which the nomadic life was still actively pursued.

[43] Bunakov, Bukeikhan, and Rudenko, *Kazaki*, 9.
[44] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 213.
[45] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 414–15.
[46] *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 24.
[47] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 10.
[48] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 214.
[49] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 427–28.

423 Allowance must also be made for considerable variation over so large an area and among such large numbers of groups. It must be taken into consideration too that the average informant has very little idea of the functioning of his culture beyond his own immediate milieu; the procedure, for example, by which the larger units came into occupancy of their grazing areas would be matters of high politics far removed from the knowledge of the ordinary man. In general one may say that there was no private property in grazing lands, that the larger groupings occupied the traditional areas which had been used by their ancestors before, that conflicts between such groups were settled usually by consultation and that within the boundaries of such areas family groups moved with considerable freedom subject to some pressure from local leaders and with a tendency to occupy the same spot year after year.[30]

The winter habitations, the meadows (kol) where hay was cut, and the agricultural lands may be considered as in effect private property. Grodekov says[31] that land was not considered as the property of particular individuals but belonged to them only while they were occupying and using it. Dingelstedt[32] theorizes upon this point in saying that although they did not recognize private property in land they conceded the usufruct of it in perpetuity to that individual who had improved it by constructing a house or developing an agricultural plot or irrigation system. It is doubtful, however, if the Kazak were concerned with such delicate legal distinctions. In practice one might sell one's winter dwelling, and on the death of the owner it was inherited by his youngest son.[33] One might even, according to my information, sell such property to a member of another uru.

The status of the meadow lands for raising hay is less definite, as might be expected, as a result of the recent growth of the custom of storing up winter fodder. The *Kazaḳi*[34] states definitely that they were the property of individual owners. My informants were less clear on the point, declaring at various times in relation to different incidents that they belonged to an entire uru, to the rich men in the uru, and finally that in theory they belonged to the uru but were for all practical purposes divided among its wealthiest and most
[685] important members. Their private ownership is made clear by the fact that it was a serious act, involving the payment of damages, for any unauthorized person to take hay from land not his own. Also, in the case of a large meadow divided among several owners the portions belonging to each were delimited by shallow trenches or by piles of stones at the corners.
[246] It was a matter of common knowledge who owned each section. The hay was cut and stored for the winter by the hired laborers of the owner or by his relatives working for him. A man who owned no hay fields of his own might turn his animals out to graze for

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[30] Questions of the occupancy and utilization of the land during the period of Russian domination have been discussed by Pálosi, *Question de la terre*, 472–87.

[31] *Kirgizy i Karaḳirgizy*, 102.

[32] *Le Droit coutumier*, 213–14.

[33] See also Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 416.

[34] Baronov, Bukeĭkhan and Rudenko, *Kazaḳi*, 9.

themselves during the winter, or if he had sufficient means, purchase hay or rent land on 423
which to raise it. The related hangers-on of a wealthy man who had helped harvest his hay had the privilege of gleaning what was left after the first cutting and sometimes of cutting hay in the poorer parts of the meadow.

Agricultural lands were not extensive and were the private property of individuals. To some extent they belonged to affluent persons and were worked by their laborers and henchmen. More generally, however, they were subsistence plots cultivated by poor families who had no cattle. It is difficult to get specific information on how such an impoverished family might obtain the land in the first place on which to start operations. As far [558]
as I could learn it was merely a question of settling down and cultivating. No one seems to have had any objection to the launching of such an enterprise but all looked upon its practitioners with disdain as people who had lost all social standing.[55]

In reference to all forms of strictly individual property in land it seems likely that we 178
are dealing with comparatively recent innovations in Kazak culture resulting from the influence of the sedentary populations in the Central Asian khanates to the south and in Russian territory to the north. The tendency to personal ownership in land appears simultaneously and in connection with the increase of permanent winter habitations, the storing of fodder for the winter, the introduction of agriculture, and the emphasis on sheep and cattle raising as opposed to horse culture.[55a]

INHERITANCE

The system of inheritance of property among the Kazak was simple in principle although 428
its details in any given case might become highly complex. Properly speaking only the youngest son inherited, the others normally being provided for during the lifetime of the father. When a son married or came of age he was given a share (enci) of his father's animals and established his own household. The age at which this occurred varied with the wealth and social position of the father, being earlier among the rich. In any event it did not normally take place before the son was fifteen years old.[56] Before this time the son had no property of his own, but afterward the father had no control over that which had been allotted to him.[57] The division among all the sons except the youngest was occasionally made at one time, before witnesses, rather than as each son came of age. Such divisions frequently presented difficulties which might be arbitrated by the leaders of the group to decide the minimum share to which each son was entitled. Beyond this minimum the father might assign the property as he saw fit,[58] although according to my information it was customary

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[55] Compare Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 213-14.

[55a] The historical and geographical factors influencing the development of land tenure among the Kazak have recently been discussed by E. E. Bacon in a paper read before the American Anthropological Association in New Haven, December, 1937.

[56] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 43.

[57] *Idem*, 34.

[58] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 153-54.

428 to keep the shares of all sons as nearly equal as possible. If the father had not already negotiated for wives for his sons, the first necessity was to assure to each a sufficient competency in animals to pay the bride price. This requirement frequently absorbed the major part of the estate.

The division among the older sons having taken place, the remainder after the death of the father passed to the youngest son. He inherited also the kibitka of his father and the winter dwelling, although if the father had not had the means to provide the other sons with their own houses for winter they might continue to live with the youngest son in the house he had inherited.[59]

[583] A daughter did not normally inherit, but among the wealthier families received on her marriage a dowry which was, theoretically at least, held in trust for her by her husband.[60]

A daughter might also be considered in herself a valuable part of the inheritance in anticipation of the bride price which might later be received on her marriage. This potential income, especially in poor families where there was little actual property to divide, might be of great importance, and the sons, if there were nothing else, would apportion among themselves the bride price received for their sisters.[61]

[429] [587] If a father died while his children were still minors his estate would be held in trust for them until they came of age by his brother, who, under the levirate, would normally marry the widow. That this guardianship was not without its perquisites is indicated by Grodekov's remark[62] that, "Upon coming of age the heir may overlook the embezzlement of his portion."

According to Levshin[63] careful husbands kept separate from their own possessions the dowries of their wives, since the wife's property was inherited by her own children alone and not by other children of her husband. I am not sure that this was usually the case. My informants were inclined to think that most husbands were not over-scrupulous about annexing their wives' dowries to their own property.

If a man died childless, his widow or widows, according to my information, would inherit. If there were more than one, the largest share went to the senior wife, in priority of marriage, and smaller shares to the junior wives. The actual division was determined [587] by the aqsaqal.[1] A widow marrying again retained the property which she had inherited. It did not pass to her new husband, although normally she would be expected to marry his younger brother, in which case it would remain in the family.

[597] Adoption might take place in order to acquire an heir. According to Tlenshiev, if a man died leaving only an elderly widow and no children she might adopt a son from another family in the uru, probably a son of the deceased husband's brother, who would be formally considered as her son and would inherit the property of her husband after her death.

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[59] See also Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 416.

[60] See also Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 364.

[61] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 153–54.

[62] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 40.

[63] *Description des hordes*, 363.

1[leader of uru -- Analyst]

The general practice of allotting to a man's sons, as they came of age, their share of the 428
inheritance was an important factor in facilitating the formation of new uru groups. This
process has been mentioned in the discussion of the nature of the uru and will be evident
again in a consideration of other Turkic and Mongol peoples.

DEBTOR AND CREDITOR

The wealthy patron and the poor relative frequently appear in the relation of creditor 426
and debtor. The importance of this relation is reflected in the special terminology for loans 602
of different kinds of animals; savьn, for example, means the loan of a milch cow, and majьn,
the loan of a horse. Animals were frequently borrowed for the purpose of paying the bride
price. Such loans were made in the presence of witnesses. Ujfalvy[44] says that one hundred
percent interest was customary. According to my information interest was paid on these
loans in the form of labor by the debtor for the creditor in addition to repayment of the
animals. Dingelstedt[45] does not specify the nature of interest but remarks that there were
generous individuals who lent without interest. He adds that the site of the winter quarters
was sometimes offered as security for the loan. My informants said that in default of [465]
payment the debtor was obliged to work for his creditor without payment until the
value of the loan had been covered at the rate of about seven sheep a year, which was the
approximate wage of a shepherd.

There is, apparently at least, a difficulty here. Under the patriarchal relationship existing between the wealthy herd owners and their poor relatives, the latter might be already serving his patron as shepherd and general handyman without wages for his living only. How then would he repay the debt? The only information I could get was that the unfortunate individual simply kept on working as before.

There seems to be a very important point involved here, much more so than the dilemma of the unfortunate defaulter, namely the nature of the relationship between patron and client and the significance of the bonds of kinship in the uru. There are apparently two tendencies involved, or two points of view from which the relationship can be considered. Regarded as a benevolent patron and protector, the wealthy man gave aid, protection and support to his poorer relatives in recognition of the claims of kinship and as a natural obligation of his position in return for the services of his dependents as herdsmen in times of peace and armed retainers in war. No exact mechanical balancing of accounts on behalf of each was possible. On the other hand the wealthy herd owners may be regarded as harsh exploiters of the poor, intent only on exacting from them as much as possible in the form of service and labor, and giving in return as little as possible.

Tlenshiev was clearly aware of these divergent points of view. After talking about the loan of cows, horses or sheep as might be needed by the rich to their dependents, he grew suddenly thoughtful and then explained that although these facts had been used by "coun-

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[44] Ujfalvy de Mező-Kövesd, *Expédition scientifique*, 2: 112.

[45] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 216.

426 ter-revolutionists" and "bourgeois historians" as the basis of a claim that "primitive com-
602 munism" existed among the Kazak I must not permit myself to be led astray by them. Actually, he said, they were merely devices used by the ruling class to cloak their exploitation of the masses and hold them in subjection.

Both aspects of the relationship of client and patron must of course be borne in mind, and one must distinguish between the theory of uru solidarity and its practice. As regards the details of the debt relationship it is not unlikely that the making of loans for interest as a more or less business transaction was a comparatively recent development influenced by trade relations with the Central Asian commercial centers to the south and later with Russia on the north.

It is interesting to note as an indication of the advantageous position of the patron that if he himself became entangled in debts the amount was requisitioned from among his dependents. Grodekov mentions the practice of taking up a collection to pay the debts of a rich man.[88] Further aspects of the patron client relationship will be considered later in relation to class stratification.

[88] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 222–23.

THE FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

THE FAMILY

In discussing the nature of the Kazak uru it was noted that genealogically speaking 61
Kazak society consisted of a series of blood related groups divided and subdivided into units of more and more closely related individuals. These units were all called uru. It becomes of interest to consider how small a group, for genealogical purposes, may be considered to form an uru. My informants were unable to decide for some time whether, for example, a man and his immediate family could be described as an uru. Such a usage of the term, it developed, would certainly not be common although in theory it might be permissable. It would require all the descendants of a man for several generations, said Tlenshiev—just how many he did not know, perhaps five or six—to form an uru, which would comprise a hundred houses or more. The basic uru would consist of the blood members of the group customarily occupying common winter quarters which broke up for the summer migrations into a series of family groups.

The individual family was known as yj, meaning literally "house." The members of 592
the family, the inhabitants of the "house," would normally be a man, his wife or perhaps wives, and minor children. As his sons came of age and married they would be provided with kibitkas adjacent to their father's;[1] then the father's kibitka became known as the ylken yj, (senior or great house) and the son's kibitka as otav (junior or small house). Originally, according to Kuftin,[2] otav meant "without fire."[3] Thus there might be four or five otav around the senior kibitka. The youngest son would continue to live in the senior house which he inherited at the death of his father.

Such was the normal, or more accurately, idealized arrangement. Actually many 592
families were not able to afford such extensive premises and several sons with their wives 513
might continue to occupy the father's house. If three generations lived in one kibitka the grandfather and his wife slept on the left, son and son's wife on the right with grandchildren, guests and all others in the middle. If a son and his wife were living in the kibitka, especially a newly married son, his section might be separated by a curtain, not apparently for the observance of any avoidance custom but merely for the sake of privacy.[4] The left hand side of the kibitka as one entered was considered the most honorable and was reserved for the master of the house. As far as I could learn this principle was not extended to the winter dwelling; there the head of the household took what he considered the warmest and most comfortable place, the others making out as best they could.

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[1] Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 18–19.

[2] *Kirgiz-Kazaḳi*, 34.

[3] In connection with the family fire compare the quotation from Pozdneev on pages 77–78.

[4] See also Karutz, *Unter Kirgisen und Turḳmenen*, 70.

592 595 Among prosperous families the number of kibitkas occupied by its members might be quite large. In addition to a separate establishment for each of the older sons those who could afford to do so had additional kibitkas for each wife and her children.[5] Radlov[6] mentions that a rich Kazak might have kibitkas in several different places with a wife and children in each among which he divided his time.

595 In general, however, most Kazak were obliged to rest content with one wife because of the financial outlay involved in acquiring additional ones. By Mohammedan law a man was allowed four wives but this restriction seems to have been treated lightly by those who could afford to do so. Tlenshiev knew, or at least had heard of, a man with forty wives.

The senior wife, the first one married (bəjbice) was nominally the mistress of the household and dominated the others (toqal or kici əjel[7]). The degree to which the senior wife actually controlled her juniors varied considerably with circumstances and the personalities involved. Levshin remarks[8] that even when the husband had no particular affection for her he was obliged to respect her and compel the other wives to do so. Zaleskie[9] points out, however, that the position of even the senior wife depended to a great extent upon the caprice of the husband. He describes a journey from one camping place to another in which the favored wife of the moment, mounted on a horse, led the procession in which others followed on camels, while she who was in disgrace at the time brought up the rear on foot, as the ultimate humiliation. My informants explained that the chief cause of friction within the household was that the senior wife delegated the heaviest and most disagreeable tasks to the junior, while she herself was jealous of the sexual preference shown by the husband for her younger colleague. On the other hand, according to Karutz,[10] the senior wife in some cases, especially if she were childless, would herself select a younger wife for her husband in order to have children in the family and assistance with the domestic chores. Grodekov says that in case of continual quarrels among several wives of a man the local judge (bij) might intervene and apportion the various household goods, furnishings and utensils among them in order to keep the peace.[11]

593 562 Of the general position of women in the Kazak family there are conflicting points of view. Radlov[12] considered them as rather worse off than among the Kalmyk who, of course, were not Mohammedans, and thought that the Kazak treated his wife as his property because he had bought her at a high price. Domestic quarrels were frequent and the husband customarily addressed his wife in a harsh commanding voice. Levshin[13] remarks that the

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[5] See also Levshin, *Déscription des hordes*, 363; Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 24.

[6] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 484.

[7] Toqal is a somewhat rude term translatable perhaps as "wench." Kici əjel is preferable, meaning simply "younger wife."

[8] *Déscription des hordes*, 363.

[9] *La Vie des steppes*, 24.

[10] *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 113–14.

[11] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 151.

[12] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 484.

[13] *Déscription des hordes*, 353.

sole recompense for the toil of the Kazak woman was to be treated like a slave by her arro- 593
gant and severe master. Grodekow also considers the wife as legally a slave whom the hus- 562
band had the right to punish by beating,[14] and Zaleskie[15] points out that although the Kazak woman had complete physical personal freedom she was less the companion of her husband than the animals of his herds.

On the other hand Karutz[16] denies specifically that the relation between husband and wife approached that of master and slave. The household was harmonious and in it the wife held a respected position. That the senior wife at least might be considered a responsible partner in her husband's affairs is indicated by Lansdell:[17]

> The head of a household will often send a portion of his herds several hundreds of miles away under the care of this [the senior] wife while he himself will either remain with his other wives about the grazing ground or go and encamp somewhere by himself.

And Ibn Battúta says:[18]

> A remarkable thing which I saw in this country was the respect shown to women by the Turks, for they hold a more dignified position than the men.

And again:[19]

> Among the Turks and Tatars their wives hold a high position; when they issue an order they say in it "By order of the Sultan and the Khatuns" [queens, wives of a khan]. Each khatun possesses several towns and districts and vast revenues, and when they travel with the sultan they have a separate camp.

These observations of Ibn Battúta were made about 1332 and it is uncertain exactly to which Turco-Mongol group they refer, although considering the route of his journey they probably include tribes ancestral to the Kazak. They agree with other information on the status of women among the steppe nomads at the time,[20] but may be somewhat discounted as applying particularly to the highest class among whom marriages took on something of the nature of political alliances with a consequently enhanced position for the wife. His remarks are, however, interesting as applying to a period before the wide acceptance of Mohammedanism among the Turkish nomads. It seems possible that the contradictory accounts of the status of the Kazak woman may be due to her somewhat anomalous position resulting from the imposition of Mohammedan concepts upon a former culture pattern in which she occupied a more respected position.

My informants on the whole painted a rather gloomy picture of the life of the Kazak

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[14] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 23; also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 151–52.
[15] *La Vie des steppes*, 23.
[16] *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 114–15.
[17] *Russian Central Asia*, 322.
[18] *Travels in Asia and Africa*, 146–47.
[19] *Idem*, 100–101.
[20] *The Texts and Versions*, 134, 196–97.

593 woman but agreed that this position varied considerably from family to family. There were
562 examples of hen-pecked husbands dominated by their wives, but these were looked upon
with a mixture of disdain and amusement by the community.

[841] According to Mohammedan custom women are considered unclean at the time of menstruation, but the Kazak woman seems to have been little affected by this view because she could not be spared from the work around the camp to perform the proper ablutions, prayers and fasts.[21]

595 When circumstances made it possible for each wife to have her own kibitka she brought
855 up her children more or less separately from those of other wives. When there were two or
[60] more wives living in one kibitka maternal authority tended to become somewhat confused
but under the general supervision of the senior wife. Children applied to other wives of
their father the same term (cece) which they used for their own mother or, if it was necessary to distinguish, added a descriptive term: egej cece (stepmother). The several wives
likewise referred to any of their husband's children as ul (son) or qbz (daughter). As the
children passed out of the infancy stage boys were brought up by the father, while the
852 girls were trained by their mothers.[22] Boys were circumcised at any time from three to
twelve years of age by a mullah (Mohammedan priest). For this occasion parents were
expected to give a feast. Levshin notes[23] that this ceremony was much more strictly observed than any other of the obligations laid down by Islamic law.

884 There were no ceremonial observances at puberty or coming of age, nor was there any
fixed age at which a youth was considered to have obtained his majority. According to
Grodekov's information[24] it might be anywhere from the twelfth to the fifteenth year,
depending on the precocity of the individual. Inasmuch as the sign and symbol of having
attained majority was to be master of one's own kibitka it also depended on the affluence
of the parents, since the rich could afford to set up their sons at an earlier age. Girls could
hardly be said to have ever come of age since a woman was "only half a man," but their
marriage might be considered, in this respect, as equivalent to the son's obtaining his own
[582] kibitka. The marriage of a girl might take place at any time from about nine years of age on.

597 Children were frequently adopted. This might be because their own parents had died and they would be taken in by relatives of the latter, usually by their father's brother. Or a childless family would adopt a son from one that had several, preferably also from among close relatives. Grodekov[25] further mentions reciprocal exchange of children between two families. I did not obtain any information on this point.

Adoption took place before witnesses and was symbolized by the child touching the breast of his foster mother, indicating that she considered him as her own. Such adopted children were entitled to shares in the distribution of the father's property as were his 597 own offspring. Grodekov, however, remarks[36] that the adopted son may leave his foster family whenever he wishes or the foster father may cast him out, suggesting that the tie may not have been so close as that between blood parents and children. In extreme cir- 593 cumstances, however, it was also possible for a father to disown his real son. The father was the indisputable head of the family as reflected in the Kazak proverb: "A son before his father is like a slave before his master."[37]

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[21] See also Rudenko, *Ocherķ Byta . . . Kazakov*, 49.

[22] See also Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 33.

[23] *Déscription des hordes*, 356–57.

[24] *Op. cit.*, 36.

[25] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 37; see also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 152–53.

EXOGAMY

The question of the exogamous unit in Kazak society is of crucial importance in defining 582 the concept of the uru and the nature of social groupings.

My informants agreed that a man might not marry a girl of his own uru, but when one endeavors to discover in exactly what sense the term uru is used in this connection, difficulties develop. Tlenshiev declared that one might not marry a girl with whom one had a common male ancestor within seven generations. "Beyond seven fathers," he said, "it will be another uru." This of course opens up a new concept of the uru, mathematically determined for the purposes of exogamy as comprising all those related through seven generations in the male line. Such a classification would not correspond to any of the named groups. It would be possible, according to the informants, for a man of the Davlet uru to marry a Davlet girl provided the requirements of seven generation exogamy made it possible. Such a situation, however, seems to have occurred rarely. The informants agreed that such marriages were theoretically permissible, but were unable to give any specific instances.

In principle this system of exogamy agrees with information from other sources, although there appears to have been considerable variation in the exact number of generations which defined the prohibited group. Grodekov writes:[38]

> Marriage occurs between the ordas, tribes and gentes as far as the seventh ancestor; that is, to the seventh generation of ancestors reckoning in the male line, or, according to some opinions to the fourth and even third generation.

He adds that

> . . . among the Kara-kirghiz marriage may be concluded as far as the fifth generation. At the present time they marry even closer, even to the second generation, which they condemn with the words "You are violating zaŋ" [the customary law] but they do not dissolve the marriage and do not punish the participants. The mullah Asan [one of Grodekov's informants] declares "Formerly among the Kara-kirghiz they married, as among the Kazaks, a bride from the seventh generation, now they take her from the third, and are even beginning to marry from the second generation, in conformity with the shariat [Mohammedan law] . . . ."

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[36] *Op. cit.*, 37.

[37] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 33.

[38] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 27.

582 This tendency to reduce the prohibited degrees of relationship was also apparent, according to my informants, among the Kazak, where cases of marriage within four or five generations of descent from the common ancestor were not unusual. The influence of Mohammedan law, whose incest prohibitions[29] are generally similar to those laid down in the book of Leviticus,[30] is, as indicated by Grodekov's informant quoted above, probably responsible for this tendency.

Dingelstedt[31] says that marriage was ordinarily forbidden within six generations of relationship, while Karutz[32] states that the prohibition extended as far as ten generations. Rudenko[33] describes the sök as defined by blood relationship "as far as seven fathers" but does not assign any functions, exogamic or otherwise, to such a group.

No mention of the generation principle of exogamy is made by Samoĭlovich.[34] His informant is described as belonging to the Kipchak tribe;[35] Toru-aingyr[36] clan; Shashty sub-clan; Boshai branch; Zhanai sub-branch. Samoĭlovich writes: "At the present time the limits within which it is forbidden for Chokaev's [the informant's] family to marry are defined as all those belonging to the sub-clan Shashty."

Such a condition makes exogamy a function of the uru groups in the genealogical sense of the term but does not make it clear which strata of uru subdivisions are involved where, as in the case of the Naiman groups[37] there may be a dozen or more gradations.

A solution of the contradictions in principle between exogamy as determined by generations and as determined by membership in an uru group is suggested in an incidental remark by Grodekov.[38] After stating that marriage is permitted only between those separated by seven generations of ancestors he writes significantly:

> In connection with each courtship they do not reckon how many generations have come after the common ancestor of both parties, but what sub-tribes can conclude marriages among themselves *since they represent seven or more generations from the common ancestor.* [Italics mine.]

This observation is supported by the fact that none of my informants could give the names of his seven actual ancestors. Beyond the grandfather or great-grandfather personal genealogies were merged with uru genealogies. Such a concept, it may be noted, is in accordance

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[29] *Holy Quran*, 4.4.23.

[30] *The Bible*: Leviticus 18.2–18.

[31] *Le Droit coutumier*, 150.

[32] *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 99.

[33] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 59.

[34] *Zapretnye Slova*, 162–63.

[35] The designations as "tribe," "clan," etc., are my translations for the Russian terms used by Samoĭlovich. He himself states, as quoted above, that the application of such terminology to Kazak subdivisions is misleading.

[36] In citing this case Czaplicka (*Turks of Central Asia*, 42) has made an error in transcription, writing "Toru-aibgyr" for "Toru-aingyr" and "Shashli" for "Shashty."

[37] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, chart facing 334.

[38] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 28.

with the traditional origin of the uru as descended from a son of the progenitor of the parent 582
uru in the next higher stratum.

The custom of avoidance and the prohibition on the wife's using the names of her husband and his relatives might be expected to aid in defining more clearly the actual exogamic unit but here the evidence is again contradictory. 551

The elaborate circumlocutions necessitated by the name prohibition have received more attention than the question of the group to which it is applied.[39] Il'minskii, who apparently first reported the fact, states:[40]

> A daughter-in-law may not call by name the relatives of the husband . . . . If someone from the husband's family is known by the name of some object, the daughter-in-law must apply to that object some other word composed of sounds that will be understood by all.

Grodekov[41] describes a similar prohibition as applying to " . . . the husband's relatives and all his line as far as the extent of the gens into which marriage has taken place . . . ." Radlov[42] reports that the wife must not use the name of an object which is similar to the name " . . . eines älteren Verwandten." Rudenko[43] says that a young woman going to live in the aul of her husband gives to " . . . all the relatives of her husband, men, women and children . . . " a new name by which she calls them. "If she is clever and observant such names are very descriptive of personal appearance or characteristics and soon are popularized. Thus every Kazak has two names: a real one and his nickname."

The most complete account of the name prohibition, and the only one which defines the limits of its application, is that of Samoilovich.[44] As mentioned above, his informant is described as belonging to the "Kipchak tribe, Toru-aingyr clan, Shashty sub-clan, Boshai branch and Zhanai sub-branch," and the group from which he might not take a wife was comprised of all those belonging to the Shashty "sub-clan." (Presumably there were other branches and sub-branches standing in the same relation to Shashty as did Boshai and Zhanai.) Within the limits of Shashty a wife might not call by name, either to his face or in his absence, her husband, nor males older than her husband, nor, likewise, the wives and children of those older than her husband. Instead she used the proper kinship term. However, this prohibition was somewhat circumvented by the use of conventionalized substitute names; for example, a woman might address a husband's kinsman named "Akhmet" as "Sakhmet" or one named "Ali" as "Sali." The name prohibition might in some cases apply to individuals in other groups who happened to bear the same name as the husband or his relatives. Such individuals the wife might address as "namesake of my husband" or "namesake of my father-in-law."

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[39] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 480–81; Samoilovich, *Zapretnye Slova*, 162; Schuyler, *Turkistan*, 1: 40, Lowie, *Primitive Society*, 85.

[40] Il'minskii, *Materialy k Izucheniiu Kirgizskago Narechiia*, 191.

[41] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 100.

[42] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 480–81.

[43] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 59, note 2.

[44] *Zapretnye Slova*, 162–65.

551 This account agrees in details with my own information but is widely at variance on the fundamental point of the range of application of the prohibition. My informants stated emphatically that it applied only to a close group of husband's relatives; in practice, to the occupants of the ylken yj (father's house) and the several otav (junior houses) which would usually surround it, involving the husband's father, mother, unmarried sisters, brothers, brothers' wives and children. Such a group would usually consist of about fifteen or twenty people. Within it the wife might not use the name of any of the husband's male relatives nor those of his mother and sister. Nor might she address by name the wife of an elder brother of her husband although the wife of an elder brother might use the name of a younger brother's wife. Samoĭlovich's statement that a wife may not use the name of the children of the husband's elder male relatives may, according to my information, be somewhat extended to include the son of the husband's younger brother, provided this son were born before her marriage occurred. Samoĭlovich also mentions the prohibition on using the name of an elder brother's wife which would not hold true if the wives of the two brothers were sisters.[45]

Levshin, in a footnote,[46] says that the husband would never use his wife's name in speaking to another person. I do not know of any other reference to such an avoidance.

606. Actual personal avoidance seems to have existed only in a rather attenuated form. Radlov[47] says that the daughter-in-law must not look her husband's older relatives directly in the face and must always give precedence to them.[48] My informants said that it was perfectly correct for the father and daughter-in-law to see one another and converse together although she must of course "behave herself properly."

582. Information on the terminology of kinship which might be expected to throw light on the limits of the group within which marriage is prohibited is at present contradictory and incomplete. In general there seems to have been a great variation in the range of application of kinship terms denoting relatives among whom one might not marry.

A possible interpretation of the apparent conflict between generation and group exogamy may be reserved for later discussion.

SEXUAL IRREGULARITIES

836
585 Kazak views of sexual morality were on the whole quite rigid. Virginity was expected of a bride and the lack of it usually entailed a relinquishment of at least a part of the kalym (bride price) by her father. Levshin[49] says that to the bridal tent

> . . . on attache un cheval couvert d'un harnais de parade et une robe. Le matin, si l'époux a trouvé sa femme chaste et innocente, il met la robe . . . s'élance sur le cheval et arrive triomphant chez

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[45] Here again there is a conflict. Grodekov writes (*Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 28–29) that two brothers would never marry two sisters. Kargabaiev said this frequently occurred.

[46] *Description des hordes*, 376.

[47] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 480.

[48] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 151.

[49] *Description des hordes*, 361–62.

> son beau-père, où l'attendent les compliments et les félicitations . . . . Si, au contraire, le mari n'a 836
> pas trouvé sa femme dans l'état d'innocence, il a le droit de tuer le cheval, de déchirer la robe, de 385
> briser la tente à coups de sabre, et après avoir ainsi couvert d'ignominie l'impudente, il peut exiger du père ou le kalym acquitte ou une autre de ses filles, et sans aucun payement.

Levshin mentions in passing that these vigorous manifestations of feeling had in his day lost a great deal of their force.[50]

A certain tacit social sanction, however, was given to pre-marital sex relations with a 836
fiancée by the custom of permitting a man who had already paid the greater part of the kalym to visit his betrothed secretly at night in a kibitka set up for her by her brothers and sisters.[51] He was expected, however, to depart early in the morning before the parents of the girl emerged from their own dwelling. His early departure was of course a gesture to convention because the girl's parents naturally knew of the extra kibitka and their daughter's absence from their own. Radlov adds that this arrangement gave the girl opportunity to carry on love affairs with other young men of neighboring auls.

It is difficult to get detailed information on illegitimacy. My informants said there 848
would not be any; the girl would always get married. Tleshiev finally said that the child 836
might be aborted or exposed on the steppe "so that her parents would not know." How they were kept ignorant during the period of pregnancy is not clear but it is obvious that to bear a child out of marriage or certainly without being betrothed was considered a disgrace.

Rudenko[52] writes that women rarely resort to abortion. When they do they drink an [847]
infusion of herbs with mercury or construct a small type of sweat house in which mercury is thrown over red-hot stones. The vapor of the mercury is supposed to produce the desired effect. One of my informants said that the mullah performed abortions but the others scoffed at the idea.

Grodekov[53] confirms the information about the rarity of illegitimacy.

> It is impossible to say anything about the illegitimate children of young girls, because in the steppes all young girls go out and get married. In the Kazalinsk district they bury them [the children] in the ground.

Elsewhere Grodekov reports that an unmarried girl who bears a child will marry the father of the child. Her relatives are usually able to claim from him at least a part of the bride price and if she is young, beautiful and of good family perhaps the whole amount.[54]

Adultery, by the old Mongol code[55] and also by the Kazak code credited to the Khan 000

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[50] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 150.
[51] Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 477.
[52] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 49.
[53] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 97.
[54] See Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 150.
[55] Riasanovskii, *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes*, 57.

837 Adultery, by the Mongol code[55] and also by the Kazak code credited to the Khan
684 Tiavka,[56] was punishable by death. Zaleskie[57] describes the unpleasant fate of adulterers. Adultery, however, in later times, came to be considered largely in the light of an offense against property for which compensation might be offered if it were acceptable to the husband. A wife might leave her husband and live with her lover provided the latter paid a bride price to the husband.[58]

595 It is difficult to distinguish between marriage and concubinage. My informants knew that Mohammedan law permitted a man only four wives but thought that additional women living regularly with him would also be wives. If he had obtained them by paying kalym they certainly would be. Grodekov says that a man might have as many wives as he wished, but if he had more than four he was expected to maintain sex relations only with the last four in the order of their acquisition.[59]

834 Sexual hospitality seems to have been unknown as an accepted practice. Grodekov writes:[60]

> Although the custom of sexual hospitality exists . . . in Siberia, in the south there is little of it. In one issue of statistical materials for the Turkestan district there is mentioned a custom by which the guest might place his hands three times on the breasts of a sleeping girl and if she did not push him away this was taken to indicate her acquiescence. The bii Kansev [one of Grodekov's informants] denied any such right of the guest, saying "Such a thing could not be and would not even be mentioned."

My informants were mildly shocked at the suggestion, but one of them said that although a man certainly would not offer his wife or daughter to an overnight guest, yet if the guest happened to find favor in the eyes of a daughter she might join him of her own accord after the parents were asleep.

MARRIAGE

584 First marriages were usually arranged by the parents of the parties concerned, who, especially the girls, had very little voice in the choice of their mate. Grodekov,[61] however, indicates that a girl might break off an engagement with a distasteful financé but if she " . . . has been engaged from four to eight years the engagement is considered a marriage and she may not break it off if the man is unwilling." Also the privilege of the girl to at least protest is indicated by the curious statement: "When the daughter of a rich man or of a butcher attains the age of ten, or of a poor man fifteen, then the adat [customary law] permits a declaration from her concerning a reluctance to marry the man chosen by her father." Grodekov explains the inclusion of the butcher's daughter by saying that " . . . the daughter of a rich man, who eats well, and of a butcher, who lives on meat, reach their

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[55] Riazanovskii, Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes, 57.

[56] Levshin, *Déscription des hordes*, 399.

[57] *La Vie des steppes*, 23.

[58] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 151.

[59] *Loc. cit.*

[60] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 93.

[61] *Idem*, 36.

majority earlier than a poor girl." Children were sometimes affianced in infancy and it 584
occasionally happened that men who were close friends would agree to marry their as yet unborn children.[62]

When the financial status of the family made it possible, marriage took place at a very 582
early age. Rudenko[63] states that boys were sometimes married at the age of eight or nine to women of middle age and girls not unusually married before sexual maturity. Lattimore[64] also mentions that in some regions it was customary for a boy first to marry a much older woman and later take a younger wife, relegating the first to the position of wife-emerita. In individual cases this would of course sometimes result from the levirate.[65] The age of marriage, however, was usually affected by the social and economic position of the family, because it was difficult for the poor to accumulate the bride price. Grodekov[66] says that the rich customarily married between the ages of twelve and fifteen but the poor much later, sometimes not until thirty. Daughters were married off as soon as possible in order to obtain the bride price and save the expense of supporting them at home.[67]

Marriages naturally tended to take place between families of the same social and economic status. My informants said that occasionally the son of a rich man might marry a daughter of a poor family because of her attractions. The opposite case of a poor man marrying a wealthy girl was very unusual and although it might perhaps occur the informants knew of no instances. Karutz[68] declares that as a rule rich married with rich and poor with poor, although there might be rare exceptions in the case of a family of distinguished ancestry, which, though formerly wealthy, had been suddenly reduced to poverty through disaster to their herds. Here the illustrious pedigree and good name of the family would compensate for their poverty for purposes of a matrimonial alliance.

The first essential preliminary to marriage was that of fixing the amount of the bride 583
price (kalym). This varied greatly with the attractions of the prospective bride, the economic status of the families concerned and their relations to one another. Between families which were related, though not of course too closely, a reduced "relatives' kalym" was paid.[69] According to my information a rough approximation of the amount of kalym to be asked was first decided by the bride's father, perhaps in consultation with his relatives, and a process of bargaining then began with the bridegroom or his representatives. Possibly the bij (local judge) might be called in to arbitrate. Levshin suggests[70] that the mullah (priest) set the amount of the kalym, for which he received a commission. My informants

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[62] See also Levshin, *Déscription des hordes*, 358.

[63] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 48.

[64] Lattimore (E.), *Turkestan Reunion*, 268.

[65] See below, pages 53–54.

[66] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 54.

[67] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 150.

[68] *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 98–99.

[69] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 40.

[70] *Déscription des hordes*, 358.

583 considered a fairly good sized kalym to be around two hundred sheep and fifty horses, and a medium one perhaps forty sheep and ten horses. It might, however, amount among the rich to a great deal more and among the poor to considerably less.[71] A very poor man might have to go without a wife through inability to pay kalym but could usually find a girl without many prospects from an equally poverty stricken family whose parents were glad to be relieved of the necessity of supporting her.

The kalym was usually paid in installments over a period of several years. The first payment, according to my informants, sealed the marriage contract and no other man might thereafter marry the girl even though he were in a position to pay the full kalym at once. Tlenshiev said that in former times it had been customary to pay the entire amount in one sum but that in later days it was paid by degrees. The existence, however, of a complete terminology to describe the various stages in the payment of kalym indicates that the practice of payment by installments is probably of considerable antiquity.[72] It sometimes happened that the prospective bride grew old before her fiancé was able to complete the transaction. She was, however, according to Grodekov's material, not obliged to wait indefinitely. If by the time she had reached the age of twenty the youth were still entangled in his obligations, she might break the engagement. He could then apply the payments already made toward acquiring her younger sister or else admit his inability to cope with the situation and receive back a portion of what he had paid.[73]

836 As mentioned above,[1] it appears to have been generally permitted for the fiancé to
583 visit his betrothed after the payment of the first installment of kalym. Levshin notes, however,[74] that in some places the bridegroom must remain at home and not visit the girl until the kalym had been paid in full. Where such visits were permitted there is considerable discrepancy in regard to the extent of intimacy between the two.[75] My informants said that sexual relations were in theory forbidden until the kalym had been paid in full but that they frequently occurred. The same may be inferred from Levshin's remark[76] that if the bride became pregnant the marriage was quickly completed even though the kalym had not been fully paid.

583 It is important to note here a possible change in the concept of the bride price and in the relationships of the individuals involved. Asfendiarov indicates, in a personal communication, that the character of kalym altered concommitantly with the development of feudal institutions in Kazak culture. Formerly, in his opinion, it had been part of a mutual exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom but later became an almost exclusively

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[71] See also Lansdell, *Russian Central Asia*, 323–24; Levshin, *Déscription des hordes*, 358, note.

[72] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 149; Lansdell, *Russian Central Asia*, 324–25.

[73] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 149.

[74] *Déscription des hordes*, 360.

[75] See Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 149–50; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 477; Levshin, *Déscription des hordes*, 360.

[76] *Déscription des hordes*, 360.

[1] [See cat. 116, p 47 -- Analyst]

commercial transaction amounting to the sale of the daughter by the father. Some evidence 583
in support of this view may be found in Zaleskie's statement:[77]

> According to ancient customs a kalym was intended to serve as the dowry of the young wife; today, on the contrary, especially among the poor, it has become the exclusive property of the father who gives to his daughter only a certain number of dresses and household utensils.

It may be noted here that in discussing marriage negotiations and the arrangement of the bride price my interpreter always employed the Russian verb prodavat' (to sell) in relation to the father's disposal of his daughter.

My information indicates that the practice of sending dowries along with the bride to the camp of her husband was largely restricted to the upper classes, though it might sometimes occur in a very modest way among poorer people. The principal feature of such dowries was a kibitka with furnishings for the young wife. She might also be accompanied
by maidservants who were slaves, The dowry, including the slaves, was considered the [567]
property of the woman, and in case of divorce should be returned with her to her father. Many husbands, however, were not scrupulous about carefully distinguishing between their wives' property and their own. Moreover, from Grodekov's sources it appears that the dowry might be considered as belonging to the husband because in divorcing a wife who has committed no fault "he is obliged to restore to her a part of the goods which she has brought with her at marriage."[78]

Marriage ceremonies, which varied greatly in character and complexity according to 585
the locality and the social status of the families involved, have been described by many authors.[79] My information contributes nothing new to these accounts.

DIVORCE AND REMARRIAGE

Marriages might be terminated by mutual consent, at the command of the husband or, 586
in certain cases, at the wish of the wife. According to my informants, however, the dissolution of marriage among the rich was very rare, apparently because of the large amounts of kalym involved and the disputes that were sure to arise over its disposition if the union were terminated. The poorer people were much freer to separate.

The husband might divorce his wife for sterility,[80] adultery, lack of proper respect and discipline and sometimes because he had found her not a virgin at marriage. All of these reasons were sufficient cause for the return of all or part of the kalym which had been given for her. He might also, it appeared, simply refuse to support her and return her to her parents because he found her generally unsatisfactory. In such cases there was always a conflict over the restitution of the bride price. Hence it was to the advantage of the bride's

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[77] *La Vie des steppes*, 24.

[78] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 155.

[79] Divaev, *O Svadebnom Rituale*, 1–27; Karutz, *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 101–10; see also Levshin, *Déscription des hordes*, 360–61; Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 24; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 477–84.

[80] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 155.

586 parents to prevent the breakup of their daughter's marriage so that they might not run the risk of being obliged to return the kalym. An unscrupulous father might simply refuse to restore it under any circumstance, thereby precipitating a quarrel which could end in a blood feud.

[562] The wife might, according to one informant, leave her husband because of cruel treatment and return to her parents. This statement is somewhat at variance with the notion of the Kazak woman as being in effect the slave of her husband. The force which restrained her from leaving a cruel husband was probably the fact that she would not be welcomed back by her family who would then be under obligation to return the full kalym because of her desertion. Karutz[81] suggests that harsh treatment on the part of the husband might justify a woman in leaving him.

In some cases divorce was permitted a woman from a particular husband but she was 587 obliged to take another from his close relatives, preferably his younger brother. Impotency on the part of the husband was cause for separation but the wife had to marry again within the first husband's family. Similarly, a wife whose husband was absent for seven years without making provision for her, reverted to his brother.[82]

Levshin says[83] that only the senior wife, if she had sufficiently grave reasons, might return to her own family. The junior wives had no such privilege.

According to Grodekov's information a divorced woman, who, as a wife was considered as belonging in a sense not to an individual but to the group, must always take another husband from among the first husband's relatives.[84] My informants said that this was by no means the case. A divorced woman might return to her own parents or marry again some man from a third group. There were numerous instances of this but one must consider the possibility that it may represent a comparatively recent development. Also it is necessary continually to bear in mind the difference between theory and practice in social relationships.

586 A similar problem is involved in the question of the disposition of the children of a divorced couple. At first my informants said that all children would invariably remain with the father.[85] Later it appeared that although sons would always stay with the male parent it was not unusual for a daughter to go with her mother. Dingelstedt moreover[86] indicates that the eldest son had a right to choose between his parents.

The question of the uru affiliation of children who went with the mother at the dissolution of a marriage is of importance. Tlenshiev said that when a divorced wife returned with a daughter to her own family the daughter lost connection with the uru of her father. The

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[81] *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen*, 111–12.

[82] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 155.

[83] *Déscription des hordes*, 364.

[84] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 147.

[85] See also Karutz, *Unter Kirgisen und Turkmenen* 112

[86] *Le Droit coutumier*, 155.

mother would probably marry again into a third uru and the daughter would go with her 586
and be considered a member of the family of the mother's new husband. She might, according to Tlenshiev, even marry back into the uru of her real father. Another informant objected to this statement and said that she could only do so if the seven generations rule permitted; such, of course might perhaps be the case even if she had remained with her father in the first place.

The evidence on the whole indicates that a wife in theory was considered to belong permanently to the uru of her first husband, and the children to the uru of their father, although in practice, especially as regards residence, there might be numerous exceptions to the rule.

LEVIRATE AND SORORATE

Both the levirate and sororate were practised in variable and attenuated forms by the 587
Kazak. My informants said that as a general rule when a man died his wife would marry his younger brother; if he had no younger brother she would marry an elder brother. If the deceased husband had no brothers she would marry some relative, probably a son of the husband's father's brother. She was in any case expected to remain in the husband's uru, but considerable latitude of choice was permitted her. Tlenshiev said that if she happened to prefer an elder brother to the younger brother she might marry the former if everyone were willing.

It is important to note that the taking over by a brother of his widowed sister-in-law had the character, in many cases at least, not of a marriage but of a guardianship.[87] It was essentially a device to ensure the support of the dead man's children. Frequently a childless widow or one with grown children would not remarry at all. The personal element of course was very important. The disposition of a young and attractive widow sometimes became a bone of contention between surviving brothers. On the other hand a man might receive his brother's widow as an obligation to be dutifully accepted, perhaps having occasional sexual intercourse with her as evidence of cordiality but generally relegating her to a position of pensioner. One case was mentioned of a man who objected strongly to taking in his brother's widow, but, being ordered to do so by the bij, submitted.

Information from other sources on the observance of the levirate is contradictory but generally suggests the flexibility of the institution. Zaleskie says[88] that not only a widow but a financée for whom part of the kalym had been paid was absolutely obliged to marry a near relative of the dead man. But he adds that this did not apply to women who had adult children. Grodekov[89] states that a widow should take a new husband from the family of the first and that it was the eldest brother who had first claim to marry her, although he might cede his rights to a younger brother and even to his own son. It was,

[87] See also Beveridge, *Babur-nama in English*, 23 and note.

[88] *La Vie des steppes*, 52.

[89] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 12; also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 154–55.

587 however, optional for the widow to remarry. If she wished to remain single she was entitled to a share of her husband's property or might even, with the consent of her first husband's family, marry a man who was not related to them, provided kalym were paid to the first husband's family by the new husband. She might go so far as to remarry without their consent and without payment of a second kalym but the marriage would not be considered as altogether respectable. [586] Elsewhere Grodekov says[90] that when a widow married a husband in a "different tribe" the children stayed with a guardian in the first tribe. It is not unlikely that in such cases there were exceptions similar to those which have been mentioned in reference to the disposition of children of divorced parents.

It was customary, though by no means obligatory, for a man to marry the younger sister of a deceased wife, provided of course that she were not already married to someone else. In marrying a wife's sister a greatly reduced kalym or perhaps none at all was paid. The wife's father however might refuse to give over a second daughter but, according to Grodekov[91] would be obliged to pay a small compensation for the refusal "... unless he had good reasons." If a fiancée died before marriage her family was expected to substitute her younger sister. It was, however, very definitely not permissable to be married to two sisters simultaneously. My informants were noticeably shocked at the suggestion. One of Grodekov's informants told him that two brothers might not marry two sisters and the wives of brothers must be at least three generations removed from one another. In other districts he found no objection to brothers marrying sisters.[92] My own informants thought it was quite usual.

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[90] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 38.

[91] *Idem*, 30

[92] *Idem*, 28–29.

CLASS STRATIFICATION

HEREDITARY CLASS DISTINCTION

Class stratification among the Kazak may be considered as determined first by blood 565 related groupings in the sense of an hereditary caste, and second by economic position in the community.

Information on class divisions of the first type is highly unsatisfactory. There was an hereditary aristocracy among the Kazak known as "White Bones" (aq syjek) in contrast to the common people who were called "Black Bones" (kara syjek).[1] The precise genealogical and functional distinction between these groups and its rigidity is difficult to determine. The chief problem involved is whether the White Bone aristocracy formed an uru in itself or whether it consisted of the leading families of each localized uru group.

Grodekov[2] says only, "The White Bone was composed of khans and their offspring," and Radlov[3] adds nothing to this. Levshin, however, is more illuminating:[4] " . . . ces sous-divisions [the uru] ne regardent que le bas peuple; la haute classe a une autre généalogie . . . Le Kost [Russian for "bone"] blanc ne se compose que des khans et de leurs descendants . . . On appelle kost noir non-seulement le bas people, mais aussi les anciens et les autres chefs qui n'ont pas de dignité héréditaire." Togzhanov[5] makes a clear distinction between the relatives of khans, who were White Bones and formed the higher aristocracy, and the chiefs of local groups who were Black Bones.

This view is, I think, correct although it does not agree with that of my informants, who said that all local chiefs and persons of influence and affluence were White Bones. The details which I was able to get were very confused and contradictory and should be heavily discounted. Kargabaiev, who came from a poor family of Black Bones, knew very little about the genealogies and uru affiliations of the upper class, and Tlenshiev, also from the former lower order, was in addition anxious to co-ordinate all his information with the concept of sharp class divisions showing complete correlation between wealth and birth. He said for instance that all rich people were White Bones and all White Bones rich. The latter part of the statement was probably in general true but the former need not necessarily have been so if White Bones were only those who could claim descent in a particular line.

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[1] See Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 4–5; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 146–47; Levshin, *Déscription des hordes*, 304–05; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 515; Pallas, *Voyages*, 1: 621–22; Jochelson, *Peoples of Asiatic Russia*, 84.

[2] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 4.

[3] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 515.

[4] *Déscription des hordes*, 304.

[5] Togzhanov, *O Kazakskom Feodalisme*, 121.

565 His view may, however, have been correct insofar as the term White Bone perhaps tended to lose a strict meaning and came to be applied rather loosely to distinguished individuals in general. There is some evidence for this in the inclusion of Mohammedan holy men among those considered White Bones. Levshin writes:[6] "Les zélés Mahométans rangent aussi dans cette classe [White Bone] les khodjas [qoça in Kazak] ou descendants des saints de la légende mahométane."

There appear to have been at least two varieties of those who were considered White Bones by virtue of their place in the Mohammedan hierarchy. In addition to the qoça Grodekov[7] mentions the seyid as "descendants of the son of Hussein[8] . . . and consequently the greatest of the qoças." He adds that there were few of them among the Kazak.[9] My informants were familiar with these terms but unable to distinguish between them; Kargabaiev said there was no difference between them; they were all priests. Tlenshiev thought that a qoça might have been also a medical practitioner and surgeon. Begaliev and Gavrilov[10] define qoça not very helpfully as a "representative of the privileged class," with no ecclesiastical connotations. Grodekov[11] mentions that the qoça lived in tents near permanent settlements, took up agriculture and quickly became sedentary.

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582 The White Bones proper, the descendants of the khans of the Kazak ordas as well as those claiming descent from Chingis and the Abbasid caliphs[12] were called tøre.[13] The extent to which they can be considered as a rigidly defined caste is uncertain. My informants at first denied that intermarriage between White and Black Bones ever took place but later we were able to find instances of its having occurred. Tlenshiev was unable to say whether the children of such marriages would be considered as belonging to the White or Black Bones and finally decided they would occupy a midway position. Grodekov indicates that there was no obstacle to marriages between the two classes[14] and mentions that the term sultan was applied to a person whose father and mother were both of the White Bone, which suggests that Tlenshiev's estimate of the position of the offspring of mixed marriages may be correct. Levshin[15] also contrasts a "pur kost blanc" with a "kost blanc mêlé" whose mother came from the common people. Jochelson, however,[16] without giving his source, says that marriage between White and Black Bones was regarded as a disgrace for the former.

[6] *Déscription des hordes*, 304.

[7] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 4.

[8] Hussein: the grandson of Mohammed by his daughter Fatima and Ali, his son-in-law and cousin.

[9] See also Pallas, *Voyages*, 1: 621–22.

[10] *Kazaksko-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 185.

[11] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 4.

[12] Abbasid: the Mohammedan dynasty claiming descent from Abbas, an uncle of the Prophet, which reigned in Bagdad from 750 to 1258, when they were overthrown by the Mongols.

[13] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 146–47; also Begaliev and Gavrilov, *Kazaksko-Russkiĭ Slovar'*, 241.

[14] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 146–47.

[15] *Déscription des hordes*, 305.

[16] *Peoples of Asiatic Russia*, 84.

The precise status and privileges of a White Bone as such apart from other considera- 565 tions cannot be sharply defined. "One accords them respect and precedence and at feasts assigns them the most honored place and the choicest morsels."[17] Grodekov[18] says that in his time [1885] there was no distinction in law between White and Black Bones, and adds that "In the Aulie-ata district they deny any privileges to White Bones . . . and now the people say: 'The slaves are now free. Freedom is given no less to us; to rude treatment we answer rudely'." This clearly implies that formerly the situation was different. Jochelson claims,[19] again without mentioning his authority, that by Kazak law the White Bones had privileges and advantages in land owning. Such in any case would seem to have been true in practice so far as the White Bones comprised a ruling and owning class.

Summing up the rather unsatisfactory evidence, it may be said that the term White Bone can hardly be taken to mean a clearly defined caste, but rather to indicate generally those who enjoyed the highest prestige in Kazak society. It is not unlikely that the rigidity of distinctions between Black and White Bones had been weakened first by the inclusion of persons distinguished for religious reasons and later by the collapse of the power of the khans and their families after the Russian conquest.

CLASS DISTINCTIONS BASED ON WEALTH

Class distinctions as conditioned by economic relationships have been mentioned in a [558] previous section but may be enlarged upon here. The poor or middle class Kazak was always in a precarious situation because the loss of his few cattle placed him in complete subjection to the wealthy owners of large herds. Radlov observed[20] that a Kazak who had lost his animals through drought or a severe winter had no recourse but to hire himself out as a worker. Ujfalvy[21] mentions the numerous impoverished people who were obliged to enter the service of the rich and adds: "Leur position équivaut à un véritable servage. Ils servent sans recevoir de salaire et pour la nourriture seulement." Quite another picture is drawn by Grodekov, who says that agricultural workers received as wages from a fourth to a half of the harvest and ate at the table of their master, who acted as a father toward them, calling them "my sons." In return the worker was expected to advance the interests of his patron in every possible way.[22]

As a contrast to this, Kargabaiev, who remembered the old days himself, said that the poor herdsman was not entitled to shelter in the master's kibitka. If he slept there at all he must stretch himself across the doorway and above all not approach the left side of the

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[17] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 146–47.

[18] *Kirgizy i Karaḳirgizy*, 5.

[19] *Peoples of Asiatic Russia*, 84.

[20] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 416.

[21] *Expédition scientifique*, 2: 112.

[22] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 217. Koz'min, in discussing Turco-Mongol feudalism in general writes "The relations of lord and vassal in Central Asia . . . approached the relationship of father and son . . . or of elder brother and younger brother. . . . " (*K Voprosy o Turetsḳo-mongol'sḳom Feodalizme*, 66.)

565 kibitka which was the place of honor. If the master required his services and wanted to wake him he would always use his foot and never touch him with his hands.

Here of course we are dealing with the same problem of the nature of the patriarchal relationship which has been previously discussed. It may be remembered that the clients of a rich man, his own more or less distant relatives, working for him for their sustenance only, were yet free to hire themselves to another master for wages. Why they did not do so, or rather perhaps why some of them did so, is a vital point on which it is difficult to get precise information now. Tlenshiev could only say that they were a very "dark" people. The answer probably lies in the decline of uru solidarity. Grodekov indicates[23] that the lot of those who stayed with their own group was probably more secure than of those who went among strangers:

> In strong tribes the poor people migrate with the rich, remaining always with their group for the sake of the protection afforded by the rich, paying for it with labor. Among disintegrating tribes, the condition of the poor . . . grows worse from year to year when they have no strong person to whom they may attach themselves.

And Rudenko says:[24]

> Reciprocity between white and black bones is now evidently not what it was formerly; reciprocal relations have degenerated between wealthy Kazak and their workers.

SLAVERY

567 Slavery existed among the Kazak until abolished at Russian instigation in 1859, but was not apparently a large nor important factor in the culture. At this time it is difficult to obtain accurate information on the subject and references to it in the literature are very scanty.[25] A slave (qul) was usually a war captive but might also have been born into slavery of slave parents, or in some cases have been sold into slavery by his own parents as a result of extreme poverty. War captives were taken not only from foreign, non-Kazak tribes, but also from other Kazak groups, and might be employed as laborers and domestic servants or held for ransom.

My informants said that a man ransomed back into his own group would not be restored to freedom but would continue as a slave among his own people in the service of the man or men who had paid the ransom. Kargabaiev told a story of a hundred men of the Kipchak uru of the Little Orda who had been captured and held as slaves by the Dulat uru of the Middle Orda; they were later ransomed, or rather bought back, by a rich man of their own Kipchak uru and became his slaves. There is perhaps some confusion here. Kargabaiev was uncertain whether they had actually become real slaves in the sense that their

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[23] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 16.

[24] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 20.

[25] See Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 147; Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kázakstana*, 97; Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 60; Pallas, *Voyages*, 1: 609–10, 623; Lansdell, *Russian Central Asia*, 377; Jochelson, *Peoples of Asiatic Russia*, 130.

children would also be slaves or whether they were only obligated to work out the price 567
of their ransom in service to their benefactor. It is possible that the patron-client relationship has become confused with that of master and slave. It became clear that if a captive were ransomed back by a group of close relatives he would not be their slave and certainly the son of a rich man would not be one. But there seems to have been no strong obligation on the part of uru relatives to obtain the freedom of a captive. They might ignore his fate, especially if he came of a poor and unimportant family.

Slaves appear to have been the individual property of those who had captured or purchased them and not of any group as a whole. It was not possible to find instances of an entire uru held in bondage by another as occurred among the Mongols[26] although such inter-group relations may have existed in former times. Slaves were employed largely as domestic servants rather than as herdsmen, and female slaves were mentioned as forming part of the marriage dowries of the daughters of rich men.

In times of severe economic distress poor parents might sell their children into slavery, especially boys who brought a good price in the cities to the south. Parents refrained from selling their daughters if possible in the hope that a small bride price might be obtained for them. Asfendiarov[27] says that during the famine of 1733 the Kazak sold their children in large numbers in Khiva, which was the principal slave market for all Central Asia.

Slaves among the Kazak seem to have been well treated. Pallas, who traveled in the region while slavery was actively functioning, says:[28] " . . . ils ne sont ni cruels, ni durs envers lui." Asfendiarov remarks[29] that slaves in general received the same treatment as the lower class of Kazak, were permitted to marry into Kazak families and became rapidly assimilated.

It is uncertain to what extent this assimilation may have been a continuous process through Kazak history. There was probably a slow absorption of slaves into Kazak groups which became much accelerated after the granting to them of technical freedom.[30] Rudenko says[31] that formerly there were among the Altaian Kazak many Kalmyk, Uriankhai, Teleut and Torgut slaves who at the present time are so mixed with the Kazak that it is impossible to distinguish them.

Certainly the freeing of the slaves increased the numbers of the poorest class who, having no cattle and little property of their own, were entirely dependent upon the wealthy herd owners.

THE TELENGUT

Mention is sometimes made in the literature of a group known as Telengut who were 701
the immediate retainers, bodyguards and professional soldiers of the khans. The informa- 565

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[26] See below, pages 83–84.

[27] Personal communication.

[28] *Voyages*, 1: 623.

[29] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 97.

[30] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 147.

[31] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 205.

701 tion concerning them is extremely sparse and confusing but their status may be perhaps
565 clarified later in a consideration of comparable groups found in Mongol society.

Levshin speaks[32] of "... une classe particulière, les Telengoutes, ou serviteurs des khans ..." whom he distinguishes from the slaves. Radlov, however, says[33] that they were the retainers and slaves of the khans. The information collected by Kharuzin[34] is contradictory. Asfendiarov[35] writes that each Kazak khan and important chief had a number of people dependent on him, whose chief function was military service. They occupied a privileged position and were the closest councillors of the khan. Many Telenguts belonged to other tribes but were usually assimilated by the Kazak.

I could not obtain any useful detailed information on the Telengut except general agreement that they were not by origin Kazak.

The fact that Levshin distinguishes them from the slaves and that Asfendiarov describes them as occupying a privileged position as close councillors of the khans throws doubt on Radlov's classing them as slaves, especially as the latter admits that his information is deficient.

On the basis of Mongol material[36] it seems possible that the Telengut may have occupied a position comparable to that of the Mongol nököd. These were free warriors, usually of good family, who voluntarily entered the service of a khan, generally not of their own group, as companion, squire and bodyguard. The position of the khans and their court in Kazak culture will be discussed in the course of the next section.

[32] *Déscription des hordes*, 305.

[33] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 526.

[34] *Kirgizy Bukeevskoĭ Ordy*, 30–33.

[35] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 98.

[36] See pages 91–92, and Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 87–96.

POLITICAL GROUPINGS

LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

621 Kazak political groupings may be considered from the point of view first of local administration and second of larger units. The local political group was normally the aul, and consisted, as said above, of an uru in its functional sense of related family groups living and migrating together, plus individuals such as hired workers, slaves and relatives on the maternal side who belonged by birth to other uru but resided among the first. The larger units which may be called "tribes" consisted of rather loose and constantly shifting confederations of local groups and should not be confused with the term "tribe" as sometimes applied to the more inclusive genealogical strata. Closely related uru might be found in different and hostile tribal confederations.

624 [92] Local administration lay in the hands of officials, or rather more accurately, outstanding individuals, known as bij and aqsaqal. It is difficult to distinguish accurately in practice between these two dignitaries; my informants tended to use the terms interchangeably. Strictly speaking the bij was a judge who administered the customary law, while the aqsaqal was the director and administrator of the economic life of the group. He supervised the occupancy of grazing lands and chose the routes and dates for migrations. Bij is sometimes confused with another title, bek or beg, which, according to my informants, was a general honorary term applied to rich powerful men, the owners of large herds.[1] Aqsaqal, meaning literally "white beard," is said by Begaliev and Gavrilov[2] to be used as "oldest in the gens," "elder," as well as "overseer," the sense in which I employ it. The process of the extension of its meaning here is obvious. Tlenshiev said bek might be synonomous with aqsaqal.

My informants also classed the molda[3] as an administrative official. To him were referred cases involving the shariat, or Moslem law, in distinction to those covered by the old common law.[4]

There are faint suggestions of a religious function having formerly appertained to the aqsaqal in his capacity of being in theory, if not actually, the oldest of the uru. Zaleskie[5] mentions "certain ceremonies and prayers" which he recited on the occasion of marriages, and Levshin[6] reports that before setting off on a war or raiding expedition the "chief

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[1] See Lansdell, *Russian Central Asia*, 310, who says that in the south bek is used instead of bij. Begaliev and Gavrilov distinguish between the two, defining bij as "judge" and bek as "feudal lord" or "prince" (*Kazaḳsḳo-Russḳiĭ Slovar'*, 43, 46).

[2] *Kazaḳsḳo-Russḳiĭ Slovar'*, 27.

[3] "Mullah," Mohammedan priest, teacher, learned man.

[4] Arabic: adat; Kazak: zaŋ.

[5] *La Vie des steppes*, 24.

[6] *Déscription des hordes*, 373–74.

624 of the tribe" recited prayers and sacrificed a white horse which was afterwards eaten. This reference to the priestly function of the chief and the prominence of the horse in ceremonial observances will be noted later in connection with Mongol material. [1]

There was no regular process or order for assuring the succession to the offices of bij and aqsaqal. An incumbent would normally hold office during life or as long as he were able to maintain his authority. Radlov has admirably summed up the status of the bij in saying[7] that authority was concentrated in individuals who were distinguished by reason of wealth, ability, sense of justice and numerous relatives, who could, if necessary, support words with deeds through their henchmen. He adds significantly: "Da das Nomadvolk keine Wahl des Häuptlings kennt, so ist die Bi-Gewalt gewöhnlich eine Machtsusurpation der betreffenden Persönlichkeit und nur selten eine allgemein unbedingt anerkannte."

Radlov's statement summarizes the views of my informants, who said that when the bij died he might perhaps be succeeded by his son, but this was not necessarily the case. It might be by any powerful man who "would appoint himself and say 'I am bij'." (Here the informant was using bij and aqsaqal interchangeably.) In any given group it appeared that the successor to office would probably be chosen from among themselves by the five or six wealthiest and most influential members of the aul, who would normally be relatives of one another and heads of the principal family lines of the uru predominating in the aul membership. Meyendorff[8] notes that the office tended to become hereditary but he who was not able to retain it by merit soon lost it. After the Russian occupation local officials were elected subject to government supervision and approval, which may be the source of Czaplicka's statement[9] that the Kazak "clan head" is elected.

[623] It should be noted, however, that Pallas[10] refers to a "democratic council" which chose one of its members as war leader when planning a military excursion; Levshin[11] mentions assemblies of "relatives, friends and neighbors" called to discuss local questions, which might break up in a wrangle. It is difficult to estimate the nature and scope of these councils and assemblies but I shall revert to the question presently.

Within the uru-aul group relations between the bij and aqsaqal on the one hand and the people on the other were apparently more personal than strictly political or governmental. In discussing the nature of economic social groupings we have observed the patron-client relationship between the wealthy herd owners and their poorer kinsmen and dependents. It is difficult to distinguish clearly between economic and political ties and obligations. [554] The bij and aqsaqal were usually themselves the largest herd-owners of the aul, or representatives of them as a class. The basic economic and political groups coincided.

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[7] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 513–14.

[8] *Voyage d'Orenbourg*, 47.

[9] *Turks of Central Asia*, 49.

[10] *Voyages*, 1: 622–23.

[11] *Déscription des hordes*, 397.

[1] [See cat. 116, pp. 78-79 -- Analyst]

LARGER POLITICAL UNITS

Local groups were to a great extent independent, or at least autonomous, politically. 631 They were nominally subject to the khans or sultans who at different times succeeded in 643 gaining a measure of supremacy in different parts of the steppe. The khanates, however, were not, except for brief periods under an exceptional ruler, strong centralized states. Rather they were a combination of tribal confederacy and feudal union, the constituent parts of which were continually tending to break off and form new groupings. Levshin writes:[12]

> ". . . [leurs] chefs . . . ne commandent pas, sans bien des exceptions, à des races, à des tribus entières, ni même à des sections de tribus, mais à des bandes, à des partis souvent composés de gens appartenant à des sections de tribus, de races ou même de hordes différentes.

Levshin uses "tribu" and "race" in the sense of the larger genealogical uru strata. His statement further indicates the lack of correlation between genealogical and political groupings.

It is clear from the above that the ordas themselves were not political units, at least at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Meyendorff[13] says of the Great Orda that it had no one ruler but was broken up into a number of independent sections each with its own khan.[14]

Such khans held their position partly by virtue of descent from the heirs of the empire of Chingis but more particularly and practically by the extent to which they were able to rally around themselves the great cattle owners, the leaders of the auls. Here there was a clash of interests. The khans were eager to increase their authority over the local chiefs while the latter sought to retain the highest possible degree of independence.[15] This conflict expressed itself in frequent transfers of allegiance on the part of the aul leaders to other khans.[16] To a certain extent the relationship between the khans and the local chiefs was comparable to that between the chiefs and their own dependents in so far as there existed reciprocal obligations of protection on one hand and service on the other. The analogy must not, however, be pushed too far because the dependents of the local leaders were seldom sufficiently strong to defend their own interests.

The more important khans surrounded themselves with a considerable court consisting [644] of their relatives, councillors, bodyguards, servants, and slaves.[17] It is interesting to note here that Atkinson[18] observes that every khan also had his merchant and mullah, both of whom were very important personages about the court. Some of the khans entered actively or through their agents into commercial relations with the settled regions.[19] Traveling

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[12] *Idem*, 395–96.

[13] *Voyage d'Orenbourg*, 53.

[14] See also Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, 2: 674.

[15] Togzhanov, *O Kazaḳskom Feodalizme*, 128–29.

[16] See also Levshin, *Déscription des hordes*, 393.

[17] Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazaḳstana*, 82.

[18] *Oriental and Western Siberia*, 451.

[19] Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazaḳstana*, 94.

631 643 merchants played an important part in the diffusion of sedentary cultural traits, and it is possible also that the growth of the mercantile interests of the aristocracy tended to increase disparities of wealth between Kazak classes.[20]

[642] It is difficult to get precise information on how the government of the khan functioned and what were the channels of administration. Although he was surrounded by a number of advisers, usually his relatives, there is little evidence of departmentalization or division of responsibility. Further there was no system of administrative units graded into a series of subdivisions. The relation between each local group and the khan was direct.[21]

651 The most important function of the khan's court, certainly from the point of view of the khan, was the collection of tribute, or taxes (alьm). This took the form, not of regularized imposts, but of occasional demands. Levshin writes[22] that Kazak chiefs had the right to exact tribute from their subjects in the form of cattle and other goods but such tribute was not paid according to any fixed rule and, by my information, perhaps only when the payer happened to feel the need of standing in the good graces of the khan for the sake of protection. But Levshin adds that by divers unregulated means the khans exacted from their subjects a substantial revenue.

The local leaders, however, were generally not averse to assisting in the collection of such taxes because the burden did not fall on them directly. They simply passed on the tax to their own subjects, taking advantage of the opportunity to add on a comfortable percentage which they retained for themselves. Kargabaiev could remember such taxes being discussed by his father, but his information was scanty and generalized. He was sure, however, that everyone, rich and poor alike, was expected to contribute one out of every ten sheep annually for the support of the mullah and also to donate to him all their old clothes. The last detail adds a touch of verisimilitude to an otherwise extremely bald narrative. It was also a frequent proceeding for the bij and aqsaqal to levy local taxes on their own authority.

[701] The demands for taxes arrived in the form of a decree (çarlьq) from the court of the khan. Similar decrees might be issued calling upon local officials to supply the khan with a certain number of fighting men for a particular occasion. Apart from the bodyguards and personal attendants of the khan there was no standing army. After the fighting everyone went home.

643 From what has been said above of the composition of the khanates it is obvious that there was no generally recognized principle of succession to the khan's power.[23] At his

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[20] See also Bartold, *Turkestan*, 394, who points out that the interests of the Mongol khans coincided with those of the Moslem capitalists.

[21] Asfendiarov, personal communication.

[22] *Déscription des hordes*, 393–94.

[23] See also Bartold, *Turkestan*, 60, who in a strong criticism of Howorth writes: ". . . the author should have known something of nomadic life and its political organization, in which there can be no question of a regular order of succession to the throne or of elections according to legal forms, yet he seriously examines the

death, according to my informants, a brother or a son might succeed or the heritage be divided among several sons. This made for smaller and smaller subdivisions until they were presently welded again into one when a particular ruler gained supremacy over the others. The death of a khan was normally followed by a civil war, with the local leaders taking sides with one or the other claimant or cautiously remaining neutral until it became clear which was likely to emerge victorious. 643 [669]

There are references[34] to meetings or councils to settle questions of general policy for the khanate. Such gatherings, however, cannot be said to have been of a democratic nature; Levshin[35] describes them as composed of the chiefs, the great warriors, the rich and the elders, "avec des troupes de curieux." The right to participate in such councils was not clearly defined; those who considered themselves entitled to do so took part and their words bore weight according to their personal prestige. It does not appear that any decisions which might be arrived at were binding upon anyone. Grodekov[36] was told that the meetings "did not change their customs." 646

The loose nature of the bond between the khan and the local groups has been indicated above. It is very difficult to speak of centralized, or at least responsible, government during the greater part of Kazak history. The point which I wish to emphasize again, however, is the lack of correlation between the genealogical "tribal" groupings and the political unions. There is little evidence of any graded series of political subdivisions or hierarchy of officials. Reverting again to the diagram on page 20, the bij and aqsaqal of the Davlet group, for example, were not in any way subordinate to the bij and aqsaqal of the Esqoça group. The two groups were quite independent, united only in their common if tenuous allegiance to their particular khan. In any given case moreover such similarly related groups might be subject to two different khans.[37] 631 642

In practice, however, there were instances of something approaching a dependence of one local group upon another, when a new uru group was in the process of development. There were for example a few families from Davlet consisting of about thirty tents who formed a semi-detached unit by themselves. They had their own headman, also called aqsaqal, who regulated the affairs of his few families but was generally influenced and controlled by the bij and aqsaqal of Davlet. Such a situation could doubtless be duplicated frequently. All groups were of course not of the same size and the smaller and weaker sought protection from the stronger. As the smaller groups increased in size they became independent equals of the established units.

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question which of the Chingizids in one case or another had the best right to the throne, and whether the election of this or that khan was legally valid."

[34] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 25; Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 397; Pallas, *Voyages*, 1: 621–22.

[35] *Description des hordes*, 397.

[36] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 25.

[37] Here I am giving my own inferences from the general character of the information. The informants agreed that the above statement was true in principle but could furnish no concrete illustration. Kargabaiev was very uncertain about the larger political affiliations of his own group.

631 The relations between such independent local groups,[1] were not markedly affected either
642 by genealogical groupings or by political affiliations. Thus war might be carried on between
721 two uru closely connected by descent from a common parent group, or between parent group and offshoot, or between two unrelated groups both owing allegiance to the same khan.

721 Such local wars, "barantas" (barьmta), were usually considered as reprisals for damage
628 done by one group to another. They might continue for generations and take on the nature of hereditary feuds.[28] It is difficult at this time to obtain precise data on their cause and origin. According to my informants they usually resulted from thefts of cattle, raids on hay fields, and personal injury or murder committed by members of one group against those
[627] of another. Such episodes in inter-group relations would normally first be referred to a meeting of the bij and aqsaqal of both groups. The meeting was called bitim, literally "peace" or "truce." Here an effort was made to fix responsibility and the amount of damages to be paid in compensation for the injury done. If the immediate parties concerned were not particularly important individuals a decision agreeable to the leaders of both groups would probably be reached amicably and the offending party ordered to pay the proper fine. If, however, the principals to the dispute were both influential men in their respective groups the meeting would probably end in a disagreement because a judge would rarely agree to a decision counter to the interests of a powerful member of his own group, who would probably be his close relative. In case of such a deadlock the man who considered himself the injured party might gather his own followers, and if sufficiently influential his whole uru, and proceed to make a small scale war upon his adversary. Such wars might indeed be major military operations if the importance of the individuals concerned were sufficiently great.

It therefore becomes difficult to distinguish between barantas as cases of personal revenge and as wars involving whole uru which were obliged to support the interests of their leaders. Levshin, however,[29] describes an instance of a baranta of a private nature entered upon by an individual to collect damages to which he was entitled by judgment of the court but which had not been paid. In this case, according to Levshin, the injured party was authorized by the chief of his aul to exercise reprisals, but on his return was obliged to swear that the amount of damage which he had done or booty which he had collected did not exceed the amount of the original claim. Levshin[30] states elsewhere that whereas formerly a baranta was only entered upon after deliberation by the chiefs in cases of culpable refusal to pay judgments, in his time any malcontent who could gather around him a band of followers might attack the herds and dwellings of his enemy.

628 The essential problem connected with the subject of baranta is the extent of solidarity
565 of the uru and its collective responsibility for injuries done to its blood members. Here it is

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[28] See Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 302, 349–51, 400, note 1; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 434.

[29] *Description des hordes*, 400.

[30] *Idem*, 349.

[1] [see cat. 116, p65 -- Analyst]

628 565 again necessary to distinguish between theory and practice. In theory the uru was supposed to avenge any injury done to one of its members for which compensation was not forthcoming, and on the other hand was collectively responsible for the payment of damages for any injury which one of its members might commit against a member of another group. In practice, however, according to my information, class affiliations were in general of greater importance than blood relationship. Whereas, as mentioned above, disputes between powerful individuals of different groups would commonly lead to war involving all their kinsmen and followers,[1] the humbler members of the uru could not count with any certainty upon receiving support from their wealthy patrons. If, of course, the leaders of the uru were looking for a pretext to begin hostilities they might seize eagerly upon an injury done to any of their followers which would serve to justify their action. On the other hand if it suited their policy to remain on good terms with the opposing group the victim would obtain scant sympathy. He might perhaps resort to direct action to obtain redress but in the event of coming to grief would be disavowed by his own uru. In opposite circumstances an influential individual responsible for an injury might requisition the amount of the damages from his henchmen, if he decided to pay them at all, while the poor man could only hope that his patron would feel generously inclined. The claims of kinship were weighted in favor of the upper class and the right of resorting to arms tended to become their prerogative.

LAW

671 In the previous section[2] I have discussed baranta as the ultimate means of settling disputes by recourse to arms. Normally, however, it would be considered only as a last resort. For the settlement of nearly all possible grievances of one individual against another the Kazak had elaborate provision in their system of customary law.[21]

Under this legal code all actions were considered as claims for damages by one party from another. No action could be taken against an individual in the interests of society as a whole but only on the charge of specific injury to person or property brought by the victim.[22]

[681] [692] Such charges did not distinguish between civil and criminal offenses. All injuries from murder to the misuse of borrowed property might be compensated for according to an elaborate tariff of fines, damages and reparations. It was the office of the bij, or judge, to fix the responsibility for damage done and to determine the amount of compensation to be paid.

695 This was accomplished through a process of trial involving the examination of witnesses for both sides under oath. It is difficult at the present time to estimate accurately the nature of trial procedure in the days prior to the Russian occupation. Most accounts of

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[21] Adat or zaŋ; the former is the borrowed Arabic term, the latter Turkic. See Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 20.

[22] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 321.

1[See cat. 116, p. 66 -- Analyst]

2[See cat. 116, pp. 66-67 -- Analyst]

695 [692] Kazak common law[33] describe it after it had been considerably codified and systematized by Russian administrators.[34] A system of "people's courts," presided over by three judges elected subject to government approval was instigated, trial procedure formalized, and appellate courts established. According to my informants, whose ideas though somewhat vague agreed on the main point, the court of the bij had formerly been rather loosely organized. As mentioned above there was no fixed succession to the office of bij; a particular case might be referred to any outstanding individual who would render a decision according to his lights or interests.

Trial procedure consisted of hearing the evidence under oath of direct witnesses, if any, to the acts under consideration and of specially selected "character witnesses," relatives of the two parties. The "character witnesses" were not directly concerned in the case under consideration but were chosen from among the more distant relatives of the litigants and had to be acceptable to the opposing side.[35] The judge for his efforts in the [693] case was rewarded with presents from both parties if the affair could be settled to their mutual satisfaction,[36] but according to my informants he would frequently weigh his decision in favor of the individual from whom the largest present might be expected.

Concerning the cultural attitudes toward various offenses and specific methods of punishment or amounts of compensation there is great discrepancy and contradiction not only between the accounts of different writers but frequently within the pages of one report. The details of indemnification in particular cases are not of immediate concern but the question of the ultimate source of compulsion for enforcing them is of importance.

696 The bij's court had no direct executive or police powers. My informants were unable to say what would happen if a man refused to pay a judgment rendered against himself. Kargabaiev said, "It would never happen." I was not able to continue this line of inquiry but, although public opinion was clearly the final and only real source of coercion, yet it appears, as mentioned in connection with baranta, that the creditor might be permitted and perhaps expected to take matters into his own hands by attempting to collect the obligation by force. Grodekov[37] also gives indication that it might be possible for an individual incorrigibly lacking in social cooperation to be expelled from his uru.

689 626 Expulsion was also apparently the punishment for grave offenses against society as a whole, as for example serious breaches of the exogamic rule for which it was impossible to atone by compensation. Such cases, according to the informants, were very rare but used occasionally to happen when a man and girl who were close relatives fell in love with one another. It would be necessary for them to "go to another aul, or to the mountains, or to the city."

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[33] See: Izraztsov, *Obychnoe Pravo*; Ibragimov, *Zametki o Kirgiskom Sude*; Samokvasov, *Sbornik Obychnago Prava*, 200–43; Kozlow, *Das Gewohnheits Recht*; Petri, *Über die Rechtsbegriffe*; Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*.

[34] The most complete account in English of the old Kazak customary law, largely translated from the Russian edition of Levshin, has been recently published by Riazanovskii (*Customary Law of the Kirghiz*).

[35] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 323–26; Levshin, *Déscription des hordes*, 400.

[36] Dingelstedt, *op. cit.*, 220.

[37] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 246–48.

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another. It would be necessary for them to "go to another aul, or to the mountains, or to the city." 000

A comparison of Kazak legal institutions as they appear to have existed at the beginning of Russian penetration with those of earlier Turkic and Mongol codes[38] suggests a gradual substitution of the principle of compensation for that of blood revenge and the lex talionis. Vladimirtsov indicates[39] that blood vengeance was already declining in the thirteenth century. The influence of Moslem jurisprudence[40] is also evident in this transition among the Kazak especially in the emphasis placed on witnesses and the oath. The fact that the Koran[41] specifically forbids a Mohammedan to kill another believer intentionally may also have had some restraining effect on personal feuds. 671 178 628

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[38] Riazanovskii, *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes*, 70–81; the Kazak legal code attributed to the Khan Tiavka at the beginning of the eighteenth century (Levshin, *Déscription des hordes*, 398–401) is similar in many points to the laws of Chingis (Riazanovskii, *op. cit.*, 57), but emphasizes the element of compensation lacking in the latter. See also Riazanovskii's *Customary Law of the Kirghiz*, 207–11.

[39] *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 53–54.

[40] Levy, *An Introduction to the Sociology of Islam*, 1: 213–274; Riazanovskii, *Customary Law of the Kirghiz*, 212.

[41] *Holy Quran*, 4.13.93.

INTER-GROUP RELATIONS

61 621 The main aspects of relations between the various local groups have been considered in the previous section. Here we may mention certain cultural patterns which influenced the relations of individual members of one group with those of another.

It has been noted above in discussing the nature of social groups that an uru of more or less close blood relatives in the male line usually had living and migrating with them members of other blood groups. It is pertinent to consider their status more closely.

My informants said that if a man did not like his own uru he might go and live with another. This they seemed to think was true in more recent times but would not have been so "originally." However, even though he went to live with another group and joined their community, he would still be considered as belonging to the group into which he was born. He might then marry a girl of the uru among whom he was living but could not take a wife from the group to which he belonged by birth. Grodekov[1] expresses this by saying: "Transference from one tribe to another is not possible but living and migrating among a foreign tribe is permissable." Rudenko[2] observes that an immigrant to an alien group may be entitled to call himself by their name even though not related to them by blood, thus: "Kazaks coming from another tribe do not lose their tribal origin. For example an Argyn . . . who has joined the Karatai gens bears the name of Karatai but may nevertheless marry any Karatai girl."

I was not able to find any instances illustrating the uru affiliation of the children of such marriages. Tlenshiev said that technically they would be considered as belonging to their father's original group and a son would be permitted to marry into the uru among which he was born. But after a few generations "people would become confused" and the descendants of the original immigrant might come to be considered blood members of the group among which they were living.

[463] Several categories may be distinguished among those residing in the group who were not its blood members in the male line. The most numerous appear to have been composed of hired workers, servants and artisans. These were the people who, having little or no property of their own and no strong patron to support them, were obliged to make a precarious living by selling their services to others. They tended to become semi-permanently attached to the group, though sometimes they went off to seek employment elsewhere. The artisans, chiefly carpenters and blacksmiths, were rather more independent than the unskilled hired herdsmen, since their knowledge of a trade assured them of being able to make their way wherever they went. In former times the slaves also formed a numerous group of

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[1] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 27.

[2] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 59-60.

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In former times the slaves also formed a numerous group of

permanent residents among the uru members, except for such of them as might be ransomed 621 or freed for other reasons. Their children would also be slaves of the same owners. Here, in a [567] slightly different status, must be included the slaves and maid-servants who formed part of the dowries of wealthy brides. In the unlikely event of their mistress being sent back to her parents they would perhaps return with her.

In a quite different economic class were individuals who, while not blood members of [233] the group, might own and occupy land for fodder and winter quarters among them.[3] They were mostly rather wealthy cattle owners who were obliged to supplement their hay-fields and to find better or more extensive winter shelter for their herds. In some, and perhaps in most, cases they were related to the uru members through the female line.[4]

Children might be brought up by the mother's group. Grodekov[5] writes: [855]

> Children enjoy protection from the mother's tribe when the father's is inactive or absent. In that case when the father is of the tribe of, say, Chu[illegible], and the child is educated by the mother's tribe, Dzhappac, he is called among them Dzhappac [compare Rudenko's statement above] to avoid coldness of relations . . . [but] no one may belong to his mother's tribe.

Grodekov further indicates that a group may have a legal claim on daughters of its female members by birth:

> If a father dies without relatives, the children go to the mother's tribe. The son may choose whether to go or not, and may take up a trade but the girl is obliged to go since they claim her by law.

There is no further light on this point. It seems contradictory to other information.

There might be children other than those whose mothers had belonged to the group [597] adopted by families within it. Usually, however, adopted children were taken from a brother's family, and therefore were by birth uru members. I have no satisfactory information on whether or not they would be considered as uru members if born outside but formally adopted into it.

A wife's kinsmen might in some cases come and live with her in her husband's group. [606] Grodekov says[6] that a widower may go to live with his married daughter, but only with the permission of his son-in-law. One of my informants remarked that if a girl married well into a rich family her own kinsmen might be expected to spend a large part of their time visiting her.

In enumerating the foreign elements resident among the uru group there must also be [701] included the free-lance warriors and the Telengut who served the powerful local chiefs and khans.

All the categories mentioned above were more or less permanently attached to the

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[3] See also Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 15.

[4] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 15, 37; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 214.

[5] *Op. cit.*, 37.

[6] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 35.

61 621 various local groups. Transients of course were numerous. Levshin[7] mentions that in some places a fiancé who had paid the first part of the kalym might pitch his kibitka in the camp of his betrothed and live there until the transaction had been completed and he was able to take her home. Since the payments might sometimes be extended over a period of several years the prospective bridegroom perhaps became a fixture about the camp.

In addition there were large numbers of itinerant visitors, travelers, merchants, and wandering mullahs. Beggars formed a large group to whom it was considered meritorious to make gifts.[8]

All these alien elements went far to increase the complexity of social groupings and to obscure the sharp demarcation between uru groups.

HOSPITALITY

609 574 The custom of hospitality (qonaqaçь) to strangers may be noted in its connection with inter-group relations.

In principle any passing traveler was entitled to stop at any man's kibitka and remain indefinitely. One of my informants said: "He doesn't have to pay and can stay as long as he likes; the owner of the house will never tell him to go." The host was responsible for the welfare of his guest and might be obliged to pay damages equivalent to those for murder for any stranger who succumbed to starvation or exhaustion even in the vicinity of the camp.[9]

Apparently such open hospitality was liable to prove a burden because Grodekov remarks[10] that the Kazak always avoided camping near roads or frequented routes in order to obviate a deluge of ravenous guests and "if it is necessary to camp near a road they conceal themselves behind a hill."

In addition to thus escaping the responsibilities of hospitality, the custom was in practice considerably limited by two factors.

Although in theory anyone, even an enemy, was entitled to hospitality, my informants said that such an instance would never arise. One usually stopped only at places where one had some expectation of finding a welcome.

574 565 A more important limitation was that in practice hospitality was restricted to members of one's own class. The rich entertained the rich and the poor sought shelter with the poor. The poor man would probably not be turned away from the rich man's door but where the duties of hospitality were ceremonially observed for an important guest by cutting the throat of a sheep, which was afterwards eaten, a humble visitor would receive only milk or tea. The gauging of hospitality by the importance of the guest is mentioned

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[7] *Déscription des hordes*, 360.

[8] See also Levshin, *op. cit.*, 344; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 222–23.

[9] Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 217–18.

[10] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 110.

also by Grodekov[11] and Dingelstedt,[12] who say that a visitor is treated well or ill according 574
to the importance of his "tribe" and the number of his ancestors. Zaleskie[13] also suggests 565
that it was chiefly the rich who kept open house.

It may be noted here that qonaopaçь (hospitality) was also the term applied to social 527
gatherings to celebrate circumcisions, weddings and funerals.

FRATERNIZATION

A form of fraternization or sworn brotherhood might exist between two particular 608
individuals, usually of different but not too distantly related uru groups. They swore 431
solemnly on the Koran, or embraced one another over the blade of a sword or with a dagger at the throat of each, taking oath that they would be friends (tamьr or dos) to one another for a specified time or for life. This relationship seems to have involved mainly an obligation of reciprocal hospitality and a certain sharing of one another's property. My informants were vague on the subject.

Grodekov[14] indicates that the relationship had a decidedly commercial quality with strong emphasis on an exact balancing of accounts. He writes:

> They swear to be tamyr or dos to one another and grant a gift. Receiving a gift obliges one to give an equal gift in return. Tamyr come by turns to one another and make a choice of cattle and goods and the chosen objects must be given without a refusal. In former times it was not customary to complain at the non-receipt of an equivalent gift in return; but now the bii computes the money value of the gifts on both sides and forces them to pay the difference. Said one bii, "Satisfy the wishes of this tamyr and afterwards you can go to visit him and he must satisfy your desire." According to Torgai [one of Grodekov's informants], in dos one may take things without asking while in tamyr it is customary to ask. Another bii said that in dos they swear before god not to bring lawsuits about the value of the presents.

The children of individuals who were tamьr and dos to one another might continue the relationship. It was also possible for women to be tamьr to one another and the relationship might exist between those of opposite sex.[15]

A somewhat similar form of fraternization, though apparently without the overt [171]
mercenary aspects of the tamьr and dos relationships, existed in Mongol culture.[16]

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[11] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 27.

[12] *Le Droit coutumier*, 147.

[13] *La Vie des steppes*, 13.

[14] *Op. cit.*, 40–41.

[15] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 40–41; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 219–20.

[16] See pages 82–83.

SUMMARY

61 The present evidence indicates that many, or most, Kazak groups used the single term uru to designate the several magnitudes of social groupings usually described as tribes, subtribes, gentes and sub-gentes. This term is applied to a group of kinsmen related through the male line but must be considered from two points of view: first, as establishing points of reference in a genealogical series consisting of any number of groups claiming descent from a common ancestor however remote, and second, as referring to a specific group of comparatively closely related individuals living together as a functioning unit.

In the latter sense the uru corresponds closely to the aul, the basic nomadic and economic group with its own more or less well defined area of migration and an internal organization based on a patriarchal-feudal relationship with marked class distinctions. Such local uru groups also tended to function as exogamous units.

These uru-aul groups were loosely joined into a number of unstable political unions and confederacies, which, however, did not necessarily correspond to the traditional genealogical relations of their constituent units.

DEVELOPMENT OF MONGOL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

121 I have introduced the following material on Mongol social organization for two reasons, first because it is interesting in itself as pointing out sources of direct historical information on the growth of Turco-Mongol culture and secondly because of the light it sheds on comparable patterns among the Kazak. Regarding the latter point, I consider it would be premature, at least for me, to indicate which of these patterns may be directly due to Mongol influence and which may represent a much older and more extensive culture stratum in which the "effect of leveling [has been] produced by long continued cross transmission."[1]

114 My obvious debt to Vladimirtsov has been acknowledged in the Introduction, although so far as they are available to me in translation I have myself used the sources. If in a few cases Vladimirtsov may seem to draw inferences from somewhat tenuous evidence, he will usually be found to have forestalled the critic by himself pointing out the shortcomings of the material. In general his analysis is distinguished by caution, completeness of documentation and freedom from theoretical bias.

ECONOMY

101 The peoples who subsequently came to be known collectively as Mongols seem to have
162 been divided in the eleventh and twelfth centuries into two groups by their types of economy: those who lived chiefly in the forests and depended mostly on hunting, and those living on the steppes who were essentially cattle breeders. The woodland groups occupied the country from Lake Baikal to the Upper Irtysh and Yenissei, while the nomadic cattle breeders were somewhat to the south in the steppe and mountain area between the Great Wall and the Altai.

221 It is impossible to draw a sharp line between the two groups. Although the woodland
224 peoples depended chiefly on hunting, mixed with fishing, they were acquainted with the horse and were partly nomadic in their habits. On the other hand hunting played a very important part in the life of the steppe nomads and there were numerous borderline groups half hunters and half nomadic cattle breeders. The forest peoples lived in wooden huts while the dwelling of the nomads was the felt kibitka.[2] In the thirteenth century the role
231 of the woodland groups seems to have considerably declined. The cattle breeding economy penetrated to the north; many of the hunters took to nomadic life and part of the forest regions were occupied by cattle breeders.[3]

The economy of the numerous nomadic groups was based on horse raising. Writing at a

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[1] Spier, *Sun Dance of the Plains Indians*, 500.

[2] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 33–35.

[3] *Idem*, 45.

231 slightly later period Carpini[4] remarks: "I think they have more horses and mares than all the world besides. But they have no kine nor other beasts." It seems probable nevertheless that they possessed sheep, goats and at least some horned cattle.[5] Camels were few, appearing for the most part later, when they were taken as part of the war booty after Chingis' conquest of the Tangut.[6]

221 They ¹did not lay in hay for winter fodder but sought sheltered pastures for the winter, migrating seasonally between summer and winter grazing grounds. The length of the migrations was regulated by local conditions and the composition of the herds; pastures favorable for horses were not always suitable for sheep, and the sheep could not travel as far nor as rapidly as the horses.[7] Lattimore[8] says that the present day Mongol migrations between summer and winter pastures may be not more than a few miles. Fox,[9] apparently on the basis of recent studies of Mongol economy, states that the longest migration in the yearly cycle is well under 300 kilometers and the average about 150.

[493] The Mongols of the thirteenth century traveled with their kibitkas placed on large wagons rather than dismantled and packed on the backs of animals as was later the custom.[10] According to Yule[11] the practice of using wagons survived until recent times among the Nogai group near the Sea of Azov.[12]

221
621 There appear to have been two different patterns of migrating and camping among the Mongols of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[13] On the one hand they lived and traveled in large groups,[14] or on the other as small isolated units of a few families.[15] General migrations evidently took place as a single large company which halted in one camp, sometimes comprising several hundred tents.[16] Such an extensive camp was called a kuriyen. Rashid-ad-Din[17] says:

> The meaning of kuriyen is this: when a great number of kibitkas stand in a circle in one place in the form of a ring, that is called a kuriyen.

And later:[18]

[4] *Texts and Versions*, 109.
[5] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 35.
[6] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 140–41; Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopiseĭ*, 3: 7.
[7] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 35–36.
[8] Lattimore, *Mongolia*, 192.
[9] *Ghenghis Khan*, 9, 38–39.
[10] Rubruck in *The Texts and Versions*, 196; Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1: 254; Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 41–42.
[11] *Op. cit.*, 1: 254.
[12] See also Jenkinson, *Early Voyages and Travels*, 72: 52.
[13] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 36–38; 45–46.
[14] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 24, 43, 46, 57–70, 120; Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopiseĭ*, 1: 59; 2: 94–95.
[15] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 44–45, 64; Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopiseĭ*, 2: 92.
[16] Rashid-ad-Din, *op. cit.*, 2:15.
[17] *Loc. cit.*
[18] *Idem*, 94.

¹[Mongols in 13th century -- Analyst]

> The meaning of kuriyen is a ring. In ancient times when some tribe halted in a particular place in 221
> the form of a ring and the oldest of them camped exactly in the middle of the circle, it was called a 621
> kuriyen. At the present time when a hostile force draws near they form themselves into such a figure so that no stranger or enemy may penetrate into the center.

The unwieldy kuriyen, however, tended to break up into smaller groups called ayil consisting of a number of individual kibitkas. The kuriyen provided excellent facilities for defense but was not adapted to the grazing of large herds. This inconvenience was especially felt by the wealthy individuals in the kuriyen who possessed great numbers of horses. Those who were sufficiently powerful through having numerous relatives and supporters to protect their animals therefore separated from the kuriyen and traveled in the smaller ayil group. Valdimirtsov[19] believes that by the thirteenth century the kuriyen manner of nomad economy had been supplanted by the ayil. Thirteenth century travelers do not mention it and Rashid, as quoted above, speaks of it as practised in "ancient times" and in his own day only as a military measure.

The products of pastoral economy were supplemented to a considerable extent by [224]
hunting and fishing. Especially important were large collective hunts, highly organized, with numerous beaters.[20] Rubruck says[21] ". . . they get a great part of their victuals by hunting and hawking." At a later period collective hunting was organized on a very great scale.[22]

Manufactures were few but each group had a few specialists, blacksmiths, and car- [439]
penters.[23] Trade with the sedentary regions was small but even at a very early time there were foreign merchants among the Mongols, usually Uighurs and Moslems from Central Asia who controlled even the trade between Mongolia and China.[24]

THE GENS

The basic element of Mongol society of the eleventh-thirteenth centuries was the gens, 614
obog.[25] All the members of the gens traced their descent from one common ancestor, 592
ebüge.[26] Pozdneev speculates on the probable early form of the gens thus:[27]

> The original character of the Mongol clan community was doubtless that of a family which consisted of individuals descending from one another and being in the third or fourth degree of blood relationship, from grandfather down to great-grandchildren inclusively. The head, who was the oldest member of the family, enjoyed general respect, disposed of every single member of his

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[19] *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 45–46.

[20] d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, 1: 404–406.

[21] *The Texts and Versions*, 194.

[22] Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1:396–97.

[23] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 43–44.

[24] Bartold, *Turkestan*, 394.

[25] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 46.

[26] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 29; Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, 1: 148.

[27] Quoted from a manuscript copy of the unpublished third volume of Pozdneev's *Mongoliia i Mongoly*, by Riasnovskii, *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes*, 290.

614 [592] family and regulated all sorts of family services, and all were bound to obey him. He married off his sons and for each of them put up a new kibitka . . . . In this way a whole group of tents arose . . . in the center of which stood that of the head of the family. In the latter the common family household was kept while the other tents had no separate fire . . . . Grown up and married sons could sever connection with their parents and brothers, have their own fires and form their own [camps], of which they were in their turn the heads, and dispose of the junior members of their families who, like servants, depended on them and were governed by them. In this way whole clans of Mongols arose which were more or less related to each other.

Thus it developed that a series of gentes arose all claiming descent from one and the same ancestor. Marriage between the members of such gentes was not permissible because they all considered themselves as blood relatives belonging to one "bone" (yasun).[28] It is not clear how far such a relationship might be expected to hold.

614 793 794 The unity of the gens was expressed not only in the claim of its members to descent from a common ancestor but also in the possible existence of a gens religious cult with a common sacrifice at which the oldest member officiated as priest. The chief evidence for this is found in two incidents recorded in the "Secret History." After Chingis had consolidated his power and was appointing his followers to various positions he said to the old man Usun:[29]

> In our time the beki is an honored office; Usun, you are the oldest descendant of Ba'arin and you follow the calling of a beki; [therefore] you will be beki, ride on a white horse, wear white clothes and in company sit in the highest place.

Bartold[30] and Vladimirtsov[31] both translate beki as "Chief Priest." The latter writes:[32]

> . . . the title of beki was known from antiquity and was born more particularly by the leaders of forest clans or tribes. Such leaders added the secular power of a prince to the spiritual authority of the shaman, which rested on his relations with the clan's ancestor and with its protecting spirits.

Pelliot[33] considers the evidence for such an interpretation rather slim and suggests on the basis of Chinese sources that the title of beki may be better rendered as "minister," or "adviser" with no religious connotation implied. The term is probably related to the Turkic beg, bek, bey. In any case Vladimirtsov[34] believes that by the thirteenth century the office of beki had begun to lose its importance and simultaneously the significance of seniority in the gens declined.

614 794 Whether or not the beki is to be considered as an official priest there is definite evidence of the existence of a gens religious cult. The "Secret History"[35] says that a certain

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[28] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 46.

[29] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 122–23.

[30] *Turkestan*, 391.

[31] *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 49–50; and *Life of Chingis Khan*, 77.

[32] *Life of Chingis Khan*, 77.

[33] Pelliot, *Notes sur le "Turkestan,"* 50–51.

[34] *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 50–51.

[35] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 30.

> . . . Boduanchar took to himself . . . a wife and by her had a son named . . . Khabichi. After the 614 mother of this Khabichi he had an illegitimate [or collateral, accessory] wife who bore a son by the 794 name of Jaouredai. During his lifetime Boduanchar took care of his son and admitted him to the sacrifices. After the death of Boduanchar, Khabichi would not recognize Jaouredai as his brother . . . [and] there at the time of the sacrifice he excluded Jaouredai who afterwards established the Jaoureit gens. They suspected of Jaouredai that he was a foreigner . . . .

This story indicates that exclusion from the gens sacrifices was equivalent to expulsion from the group. There is unfortunately no indication of why Jaouredai was not entitled to membership; other information points out that there was no distinction between the children of a man's several wives or between legitimate and illegitimate children. However, the account gives an interesting suggestion of one way in which new groups may have arisen in the remark that Jaouredai "afterwards established the Jaoureit gens." To this topic I shall revert later.

The custom of hereditary group revenge for injuries to its members is sometimes encountered among the Mongols of the period but appears to have been already declining.[36] 628

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

It is not clear what was the exogamous unit in old Mongol culture. Wives were sometimes taken from a great distance away, especially among the wealthier families.[37] On convenient occasions women were abducted by force.[38] Contracts for the exchange of brides were sometimes concluded between two different groups.[39] It should be noted that Carpini[40] describes the Mongols as " . . . joined in matrimony to all in general" but his views may have been distorted by the prevalence of the custom of marrying the father's and brother's widows. Polygamy was frequently practised by those ~~who could afford~~ it but the first wife held a superior position. Marco Polo says[41] that " . . . she is ever held most in honor and as the most legitimate, and the same applies to the sons whom she may bear." This may perhaps explain the exclusion of Jaouredai, as mentioned above, from the group sacrifices, but on the other hand Carpini says[42] that they do not distinguish between the sons of wives and concubines. Also according to both Rashid-ad-Din[43] and the "Secret History"[44] children by various wives were considered as brothers and sisters of children by the first wife. According to the Great Yassa, or legal code, of Chingis the children of a concubine were considered legitimate.[45]

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[36] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 53–54.

[37] *Idem*, 47.

[38] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 33, 49–51; Vladimirtsov, *Life of Chingis Khan*, 28–30.

[39] Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopiseĭ*, 1: 87, 157; *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 35; Yule, *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1: 284, 288

[40] *The Texts and Versions*, 111–12.

[41] Yule, *op. cit.*, 1: 252–53.

[42] *The Texts and Versions*, 112.

[43] *Sbornik Letopiseĭ*, 2: 62.

[44] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 29–30.

[45] Riazanovskii, *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes*, 60.

595 Rubruck mentions[46] that if a man had more wives than one she with whom he slept the night before sat by his side the day following.

583 A wife was acquired, in most cases at least, after payment of a bride price.[47] Rashid-ad-Din and the "Secret History" do not mention the transaction. They do, however, indicate that the bride brought with her to her husband a dowry varying with the position of the family to which she belonged.[48] The dowry sometimes included servants or slaves. Polo[49] on the other hand specifically states that the bride brought nothing to her husband.

562 The position of women in Mongol culture, at least among the ruling class, was very high.[50] They not only played an active role in economic life[51] but also had an important part in social life. Emperors and princes frequently took advice from their wives.[52] During the absence of their husbands women sometimes administered their affairs. Carpini says[53] that "... it is a custom among the Tartars that the courts of princes or noble men are not dissolved but always some women are appointed to keep or govern them, upon whom certain gifts are bestowed in like sort as they are given unto their lords." Women accompanied warriors on the march. In the Yassa of Chingis he orders "... the women who accompany the troops to do the work and duties of men while the latter are absent fighting."[54]

587 At the death of her husband a widow might be taken over by his brother or by a son of her husband not her own.[55] Polo indicates, however, that it was only the eldest son who had the privilege of marrying his stepmothers. The custom may have been more the exception than the rule because Carpini observes[56] "... after the death of their husbands the Tartar wives use very seldom to marry again, unless perhaps some man take his brother's wife or stepmother in marriage."

PROPERTY

423 614 The problem of the definition of boundaries and the ownership of pastoral lands in the eleventh and twelfth centuries cannot be completely clarified. It is apparent from the remarks of travelers that a century later each group migrated within a particular territory

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[46] *The Texts and Versions*, 189.

[47] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 56; Yule, *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1: 253; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, 1: 14.

[48] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 30, 118–19; Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopiseĭ*, 2: 80.

[49] *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1: 253.

[50] Koz'min (*K Voprosy o Turetsko-mongol'skom Feodalizme*, 54, 76) is of the opinion that though the women of the aristocracy were important politically, the ordinary woman led a wretched and servile life.

[51] *The Texts and Versions*, 196–97.

[52] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 59; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, 2: 247, 355.

[53] *The Texts and Versions*, 134.

[54] Riazanovskii, *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes*, 58.

[55] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 25; *The Texts and Versions*, 111–12; Yule, *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1: 252–53; Bartold, *Turkestan*, 390; Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 47.

[56] *The Texts and Versions*, 111–12.

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under the control of its leaders who determined the camping places and the routes. "Every 423
of their captains according to the great or small number of his people knows the bounds 614
of his pastures and where he ought to feed his cattle spring and summer, winter and autumn."[57]

Such was probably also the case at an earlier date although the evidence is indirect and somewhat confusing.[58] The territory on which any social group habitually migrated was known as nuntux in Mongol and yurt in Turkish. These words meant "district, encampment or place of abode."[59] There are references to particular places or regions being traditionaly occupied by certain specific groups:[60] "Their dwellings and yurts were designated individually by tribes and by branches . . . ." And again:[61] "Among this tribe the yurt and their places were united together and it was determined from where to where was the yurt of each."

However, there are frequent instances of several groups migrating together in one territory.[62] In one place in the "Secret History"[63] Chingis remarks to one of his relatives: "In former times you, along with three houses of Tokhuraut, five houses of the Tarkhut and two other gentes, the Chanshikit and Bayaut, formed with me a single camp."

Vladimirtsov[64] writes: "The ancient Mongol gens knew a communality of pastoral territories." But it is not clear, either from the evidence or his discussion whether this means a communal ownership of a particular area by the members of the gens or whether it implies that all pastoral lands were open to all the members of any gens who chose to use them. This is the same problem which has been discussed in relation to Kazak grazing grounds. In general it seems probable that there was a fairly clear concept of the nuntux or yurt as a territory belonging to a particular gens. To this principle however there appear to have been many exceptions.

All movable property, cattle, kibitkas, vehicles, and the products of home industry 422
were held in individual ownership by the members of the gens.[65] There is vague mention of 614
marking cattle with tamgas which apparently were the same for all members of the gens.[66] Marco Polo, however, indicates that each individual might have his private tamga.[67]

On the death of the head of a household his property was inherited by his youngest son.

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[57] *The Texts and Versions*, 188.

[58] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 42–43; 56–58.

[59] Translation from the Mongol text of the "Secret History," Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 57.

[60] Rashid-ed-Din, *Sbornik Letopiseĭ*, 1: 49.

[61] *Idem*, 1: 135.

[62] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 57.

[63] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 120.

[64] *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 56.

[65] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 44–49.

[66] Rashid-ed-Din, *Sbornik Letopiseĭ*, 1: 76; *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 44–45; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*,

[67] Yule, *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1: 266.

428 On the death of the head of a household his property was inherited by his youngest son,

614 Rashid writes:[68] "The Mongol custom is thus: that the youngest son is called ejen for this reason, that he stays at home and the property, economy and premises are assigned to him." Also[69] "The meaning of ejen is the youngest son who remains in the home and yurt, that is, lord of the fire and the yurt." It is probable, though direct evidence is lacking, that unmarried sons customarily lived together with their family and at marriage received their individual allotments. Riazanovskii[70] quotes an unspecified version of the Yassa of Chingis as saying that the distribution of the heritage is done so that the senior son receives more than the junior although the youngest son inherits the household of the father.

INTER-GROUP RELATIONS

614 To each member of the Mongol gens his relatives were urux, meaning kinsmen.[71] However, not only the members of a particular gens were reckoned as urux but members of all gentes related among themselves by blood by reason of descent from a traditional common ancestor. Between such relatives and related gentes the recognition of certain obligations of mutual defense, protection and assistance was expected. However, the acceptance of these obligations seems to have depended a great deal upon the nature of the occasion and the self interests of the particular group or its leaders. Hostile relations frequently existed between gentes who were close urux to one another and Rashid[72] mentions some who in his words "occupy themselves unceasingly with raids, wars and rapes among themselves."

Also a status of relatives by courtesy was accorded to members of the gens to whom one was related by marriage, all of whom were known as xuda.[73]

608 Another possible relationship between members of different groups was a ceremonial assumption of brotherhood. Two individuals, usually belonging to different though fairly closely related gentes, concluded between themselves a union of friendship and exchanged presents after which they were considered anda, brothers in name to one another. According to the "Secret History"[74] ". . . the old people say that when anda has been made both individuals have as only one life between them. One will not forsake the other and they protect one another with their lives." Anda did not actually live together but were expected to support one another exactly as members of the same gens. However, in actual life the relationship was probably more ceremonial than real; former anda might take up arms against one another as was the case with Chingis and Jamuga.[75] The fact that the

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[68] *Sbornik Letopisei*, 1: 207.

[69] Rashid-ad-Din, *op. cit.*, 2: 30.

[70] *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes*, 60.

[71] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 59.

[72] *Sbornik Letopisei*, 1: 52.

[73] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 60; *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 35. In Kazak the term quda designates the father of a daughter's husband or of a son's wife.

[74] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 58.

[75] Vladimirtsov, *Life of Chingis Khan*, 33–35.

"Secret History" cites what the old people had to say about anda indicates that the institution 608 was losing its force.

Children born in a particular group were frequently adopted by a family in another. 597 Evidently they were usually captured in hostile camps during wars and raids.[76] Although 614 they were brought up as brothers and sisters of the children of their foster parents they were not considered as becoming by virtue of adoption blood members of the group. Nevertheless they exercised property rights along with their foster brothers though perhaps receiving a smaller share.[77]

VASSAL GROUPS

In discussing the occupation of pasture lands it was noted that there were frequent in- 614 stances of different gentes migrating together and utilizing the same territory for grazing. 221 In some instances a particular gens was split up into a number of fragments, some traveling together with one alien group and others with another.[78] For example it is reported that the Baya'ud gens was divided, part of them migrating with the Borjigin and part with the Taichiut.[79] Similarly the Jalair groups are described as scattered about among strange gentes.[80]

The splitting up of gentes and the presence of two or more groups in a particular territory might result from a variety of causes. One part might split off voluntarily and establish a new unit elsewhere for economic reasons, or they might be forcibly broken up as a result of war, becoming subject to their conquerors.

It is evident that frequently the members of a particular gens were held in bondage 567 collectively by another, perhaps by an alien gens, or sometimes by a closely related group. 614 Rashid-ad-Din writes[81] that when Chingis had conquered certain "tribes" he ordered most of them to be killed and the remainder taken into "slavery" in spite of the fact that they were accounted his relatives. Again Rashid[82] describes the "Ongu-Bugul" as those who are "slaves and the children of slaves of the ancestors of . . . Chingis Khan" and goes on to say[83] that as a result of wars and the conquest of one group by another there were many who were the "slaves of slaves" so that a graduated series of subject groups arose.

Such groups, however, must not be considered slaves in the literal sense of the word. Rashid tends to describe as "slaves" any of the subjects of a monarch. In speaking of the "Ongu-Bugul" he is evidently referring to the Mongol term unağan boğol.[84] This Vladi-

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[76] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 61.

[77] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 115.

[78] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 63

[79] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 60, 120; Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopiseĭ*, 1: 175; 2: 13, 95.

[80] Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopiseĭ*, 1: 33–34, 42; *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 59–60, 64.

[81] *Sbornik Letopiseĭ*, 1: 190–91.

[82] *Idem*, 2: 11.

[83] *Idem*, 2: 12.

[84] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 64.

567 614 mirtsov translates as "bondsman" or "vassal." The unağan boğol retained their own property, enjoyed a considerable amount of personal freedom and received some part of the product of their labors.

An important point is that the unağan boğol were not held in bondage as individuals but as whole gentes or branches of gentes by the members collectively of another group. Thus they were not merged with the master group and preserved to a great extent, at least in the beginning of their subjection, their own gens unity.[85]

Their principal obligation in relation to the master group was service. This service consisted chiefly in migrating together with the dominating gens, assisting in the herding economy or organizing under the supervision of their masters subordinate camps which made it possible to raise cattle on a larger scale.[86] During the important communal hunts they served as beaters to drive the game.[87]

In the course of time the relationship between master and vassal groups tended to approach that of a union of mutual assistance.[88] The master group, if they were of another genealogy (bone) exchanged girls for wives with their unağan boğol.[89] Also from among the vassals came companions, "squires,"[90] for the members of the ruling group. All the evidence suggests that in the period of the twelfth century there was very little difference in the life led by the members of the predominant gens and of the vassal groups.

It is probable that many groups voluntarily became vassals of another either through poverty resulting from loss of their cattle in raids, droughts, or severe winters, or because their small number made it impossible to maintain an independent existence. Protection and security were sought by allying themselves in the status of vassals with a stronger group.

Apparently also in many cases the persons who were sent along with a bride of a wealthy family as part of her dowry were received into the husband's group as vassals.[91] In other instances they seem to have been actual slaves in the strict sense of the word and to have become the personal property of the husband. There is an account by Rashid-ad-Din[92] of Chingis magnanimously giving back to one of his wives all the property and servants which she had brought with her at the time of her marriage, and simultaneously presenting her, along with the returned property and servants, to one of his generals.

Certainly there were individuals held in a condition closely approaching pure slavery. They were known as jala'u[93] or as ötöle boğol (simple slaves)[94] as distinguished from the

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[85] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 64–65.

[86] Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopiseĭ*, 2: 94; *Sokrovennoe Skazani* , 25, 42–44.

[87] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 124.

[88] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 65.

[89] Rashid-ad-Din, *op. cit.*, 1: 175.

[90] See below, pages 91–92.

[91] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 68.

[92] *Sbornik Letopiseĭ*, 1: 194.

[93] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 23.

[94] Rashid-ad-Din, *op. cit.*, 1: 145.

vassals (unagan bogol). They belonged not as a group to the master gens as a whole but to 567
its individual members. Thus Rashid-ad-Din[95] says of the Jalair "tribe" that some of them 614
". . . became slaves of Khaidu, the son of Munulun but [others] . . . became slaves of his tribe." There are occasional other instances of private ownership of slaves[96] who seem to have been mostly employed as skilled domestic servants by the wealthier members of the master group.[97] It seems likely that especially in somewhat later times many of the slaves were artisans and skilled workers captured in wars with the sedentary peoples. Thus in mentioning that slaves might be restored to freedom by their masters, Vladimirtsov observes[98] that the term darkhan used by Palladius[99] for a freed slave also means in Mongol "blacksmith."

In summing up the nature of the gens and its subordinate groups Vladimirtsov writes:[100] 565

> It is possible that at a very ancient time of which we have preserved only legendary evidence, 614
> the Mongol gens consisted of one homogeneous blood group among whom there were neither great nor small, rich nor poor, but all equals. However, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the gens-obog was a very complex affair. First were the blood relatives, "owners" of the gens, then followed the bond vassals, unagan bogol, and after them the common slaves, serving people.

He suggests, however, that the essential cleavage was not into these three divisions but lay rather between the master group together with the upper strata of the unagan bogol, as opposed to the poorer vassals and the slaves. It must be remembered that the vassal groups retained their own social structure and had among themselves distinctions of wealth. Their upper class was more closely bound by interest to the master gens than to their own poorer relatives. Furthermore there were of course even within the master gens itself inequalities of wealth which contributed to the constant dividing and splitting up of gentes.

The weak and poor even within the dominant group were unable to maintain their personal independence. They were obliged to place themselves under the protection of powerful individuals or families in the subservient position of herdsmen and shepherds. "The deceptive simplicity of nomadic customs when lord and servant would sit down to eat together did not affect the essential point of this relationship."[101]

DEVELOPMENT OF NEW GROUPS BY FISSION

The Mongol gentes were continually branching and dividing, giving off the beginnings 614
of new groups which in their turn again branched out. Rashid-ad-Din in speaking of early times remarks:[102]

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[95] *Idem*, 2: 16.

[96] Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopiseĭ*, 1: 191; 2: 50–51.

[97] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 23, 32.

[98] *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 69, note 4.

[99] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 169.

[100] *Op. cit.*, 69–70.

[101] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 7[illegible]

Letopiseĭ, 1: 136.

614 Each of these branches become subdivided and known under some particular name, becoming in their turn an umaq [obog̊]. An umaq is that which originates from a particular bone and line. Such umaqs again produced branches.

The gens of Borjigin, with which Rashid was especially concerned because to it belonged Chingis himself, illustrates how frequently new branches developed.[103] From the Borjigin obog̊ among others originated the Jurki[104] and Taichiut groups.[105] The genealogical tables of the "Secret History"[106] indicate how constant was this process. Similar divisions and branchings took place among other Mongol groups.[107]

The new groups, at the time of their separation from the parent gens (obog̊) consisted probably of a few closely related families, an "enlarged family" and their followers, which came in time to be considered as themselves a distinct gens. It is not possible to establish a clear distinction between the gens proper and its branches, the "enlarged families" which were also known as obog̊. Likewise all the theoretical descendants of the legendary ancestor Bodancar, which included all the members of many gentes, were considered as forming together an obog̊.[108] This concept, of course, is identical with that of the Kazak uru.

In discussing the origin of new gentes and the process of their development Vladimirtsov has found an apt illustration in the history of the Jurki group.[109] [1] The Jurki gens was established as an independent "enlarged family" by a first cousin of Chingis' father.[110] Consequently in the generation of Chingis the number of its blood members must have been still very small. Yet they figure in the accounts of Rashid and the "Secret History" as formidable opponents with whom Chingis was obliged to wage war.[111] This discrepancy is explained by the story of the foundation of the Jurki group. According to the "Secret History:"[112]

> The origin of the Jurki gens was as follows: the khan Khabul had seven sons; the oldest was named Olbarkhakh. Khabul, in consideration of his seniority, selected from among the people those of strong heart, skillful in shooting the bow and gave them [to Olbarkhakh] as his following. Wherever they went they conquered everybody, no one dared to stand up against them.

Thus it appears that although the Jurki gens did not actually have many members by blood relationship yet it was supported by numerous vassals and retainers who made it a powerful force.

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[103] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 29–33.
[104] *Idem*, 32, 68–69; Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, 2: 110.
[105] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 31; Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, 1: 182–87; 2: 13, 23–24.
[106] Appendix to Palladius' translation, *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 258.
[107] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 71.
[108] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 30; Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, 2: 10, 49.
[109] *Op. cit.*, 71–73.
[110] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 68–69.
[111] Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopisei*, 2: 101–105; *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 66–67.
[112] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 68–69.

1[For Vladimirtsov's definition of "aimak" in its relation to the old Mongol gens (obok), see cat. 116, p. 103 -- Analyst]

[110] See Vladim

1[See cat,

The same process of the formation of groups consisting of a few blood-related ruling 614 families with numerous subordinate vassals took place among other Mongol gentes. The Taichiut, for example, are referred to by Rashid[113] as being both a gens and a tribe. Actually they were neither but rather a grouping, similar to that of the Jurki, of a few master families with their retainers.[114]

It should be mentioned here, however, that the vassal groups, although unrelated, or not closely related, to the blood members of the gens, were nevertheless known by their name.[115] That is, all the people who migrated along with the Jurki group, for instance, although not necessarily Jurki by blood, were known under that name.

The account of the origin of the Jurki also suggests why, in some cases at least, groups split off from the parent gens. It was emphasized by the "Secret History" that the departive group was composed of those who were "of strong heart and skillful in shooting the bow." With such followers success was assured in raids and warfare and to such a band dissatisfied wanderers from other gentes willingly allied themselves. The seceding group sought a freer mode of life, more extensive pastures for themselves, and the possibility of getting a better share in the hunts.

It was no doubt the richest families who branched off, those who had nothing to fear from an independent existence. But the separation of such a group was only possible when the separatists had clients, vassals, and servants in sufficient number. On the other hand the poor people whose economic prospects in the parent group were far from bright, but for whom an independent life was impossible without herds, were glad to associate themselves with strong and rich leaders in the hope of better things.

Everywhere at the head of the aristocratic families and blood members of the gentes were special leaders. These leaders obtained power not by virtue of seniority in the gens or as hereditary chiefs but as the strongest, most enterprising and richest. It was a power of usurpation. Those who held it usually bore the descriptive title of noyan (lord) though there were numerous other titles, some borrowed from the Turkic dialects and others, especially in later times, from the Chinese.[116]

GROWTH OF TRIBAL UNIONS

Simultaneously with the process of division of the gentes there was an apparently opposite tendency toward the building up of larger and larger units. Such amalgamations, 619 however, were actually only another manifestation of the same causes which led to the splitting up of the obog groups: the powerful gentes attached to themselves by force, or were voluntarily joined by, groups seceding from other units.

The nucleus of these larger units, however, usually consisted of a number of related

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[113] *Sbornik Letopisei*, 1: 182.

[114] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 73.

[115] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 70, 72.

irtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 74.

614, pp. 85-87 for fission among gentes -- Analyst]

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619 gentes who formed among themselves a vague political union called irgen, which Valdimirtsov[117] translates as "tribe" (Russian: plemia). For example the various Taichiut gentes taken together with their subordinate groups constituted an irgen which is described thus by Rashid:[118]

> The Taichiut were a very numerous tribe. For each group separately there were its own chiefs and leaders but all were joined in one union with the others. Those of their relatives and relatives by marriage who were united with them were also called Taichiut, as were also the vassal groups merged with them, exactly as at the present time [about 1300] all the tribes which have mixed with Mongols, taken on their character and united with them, although not Mongols themselves, are called Mongols.

Certainly in any particular case it is difficult to distinguish between the gens (oboğ), which, as noted above, might be in itself highly complex and composed of many elements, and the tribe (irgen).

The tribes as political unions were extremely unstable and lacking in organization or solidarity. Temporary unions might be formed in time of war but in the next period of hostilities the formerly allied gentes would frequently be found in opposite warring camps.[119]

The unity of the irgen, so far as it possessed any, was expressed in the tribal council (xurultai) which was attended by the leaders of its constituent gentes, important individuals and even by influential members of the vassal groups.[120] Similar councils were known in the gentes and were also called xurultai.[121] These councils however were not definitely constituted legislative bodies but rather loose and casual meetings which might be attended by anyone who considered himself sufficiently important. Certainly its decisions were not binding upon those who had the wish and power to oppose them.[122]

643 Frequently, particularly in time of war or of large collective hunts, the tribal council would elect a war leader who sometimes would retain power in times of peace.[123] Such leaders were generally called khans (ġa'an, xa'an).[124] Their powers were, however, extremely nebulous and they were dependent on the support of the gens or gentes which had been instrumental in their election. Occasionally one and the same tribe is described as having two khans simultaneously.[125] The title of khan might belong to the military leaders of quite insignificant groups consisting of several gentes or various branches of different gentes.

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[117] *Idem*, 79.

[118] *Sbornik Letopiseĭ*, 2: 19–24.

[119] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 79.

[120] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 78–79, 85; Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopiseĭ*, 2: 45–46, 118.

[121] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 78–79.

[122] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 79.

[123] Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopiseĭ*, 2:43; *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 61–62.

[124] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 79. See also Elias and Ross, *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, Introduction, 30; Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, 1: 149; *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1: Introduction, page 10.

[125] Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopiseĭ*, 2: 21; 1: 112–13.

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Its holders were the ephemeral leaders of ill-defined groups, frequently with disputed 643 authority whose power was always the power of arms.

It is difficult to determine to what extent the tribal council had the power of electing the khan. Apparently they "elected" the strong man, he who had power through the armed support of his relatives and the backing of many followers in his own and related gentes.[126] Such khans very rarely passed on their power to their descendants.[127]

The position of the khan in relation to the leaders of the groups constituting his tribe is well illustrated in the account of the election of Chingis himself.[128]

> The chief aristocrats of the tribe, after taking counsel among themselves, came to him and said: "We wish to make you khan. After you are khan we will always be in the front in your battles with many enemies. And if we capture beautiful women and girls, also horses, we will give them to you. In the hunts we will start out before the others and give the game we catch to you. If in time of war we disobey your commands, or if in time of peace we do any injury to you, then you can take from us our wives and property and send us without followers into the wilderness." Chingis replied: "I will take many herds, flocks, kibitkas, women and children of the people and give them to you; for you I will conduct hunts on the steppe and always drive the game to your side."

From this exchange of pledges it is clear that the khan enjoyed rights and authority almost exclusively in time of war and collective hunting, two occupations of the greatest importance for the tribe. It is to be noted that the aristocrats promised to obey all his commands in war but in peace only to refrain from injuring their leader. It is of interest also to note the casual reference to the common people whose animals, dwellings, and families Chingis offers to distribute to his important followers.

In the development of tribal unions under a military khan collective hunting with 224 beaters, which required a great many men and careful organization, played perhaps a more important role than war. In illustration of this we have evidence from Rashid-ad-Din:[129]

> At one time Chingis organized a hunt with his own people and during the course of the hunt fell in with about four hundred members of a hunting party from one of the Juryat gentes who were supposed to be under the suzerainty of the Taichiut tribe. During the hunt Chingis rendered various services to the Juryat hunters which produced so great an impression that a large part of the Juryats, after some hesitation, came to Chingis and said, "These Taichiut chiefs harass and disturb us to no purpose. But here is a leader [Chingis] who will take off the coat he wears and give it to you; he will get off the horse on which he sits and give it to you. He is a man having lands and feeding his warriors and clothing his people well." Then after taking counsel all the Juryat groups voluntarily submitted themselves to Chingis.

Some khans of course had greater power than others as expressed in number of followers

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[126] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 80.

[127] Rashid-ad-Din, *op. cit.*, 2: 41–43; *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 32–34.

[128] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 61–62; see also Bartold, *Obrazovanie Imperii Chingiz-khana*, 110; Vladimirtsov, *Life of Chingis Khan*, 36–37.

[129] *Sbornik Letopisei*, 2: 96–99.

619 Some khans of course had greater power than others as expressed in number of followers
643 and fighting strength. To be on good terms with the most powerful khan was important for the steppe aristocracy who desired a more secure existence for their herds. They therefore tended to desert from their minor local khans and transfer their allegiance to the dominant one of the moment. On the other hand certain military leaders, jealous of the rising power of a particular khan, would band together to crush the threat to their own position. Thus took place continual wars of tribe against tribe, continual mixing and shifting of tribes and parts of tribes from one warring camp to another.

668 In relation to the development of the power of the Mongol khans and the nomadic aristocracy there has been some discussion in the literature over the question of the existence of an opposite democratic tendency. Bartold[130] has taken the position that Jamuga, one of the leaders of the Jajirat gens, was the chief of a Mongol popular movement which appeared in opposition to the aristocratic Chingis and his followers. In his earlier work *Chingis-khan*, Valdimirtsov adopted a similar view[131] based largely on a passage in the "Secret History."[132] In the English translation of *Chingis-khan* by Mirsky the episode is recounted thus:[133]

> One day Temuchin [Chingis] and Jamuga moved their camp . . . . Temuchin and Jamuga rode in front of the waggons; while they rode Jamuga said: "Today, if we camp on the hill slope those who herd horses will get tents; if we camp by the stream, those who tend the sheep and lambs will get food for their throat." Temuchin made no reply but reining up his horse waited for his mother, Oyelun; when she rode up he repeated to her Jamuga's words and said: "I did not understand his words and said nothing in reply; I purposely rode up to you, my mother, to ask you to explain them." His mother had not time to say a word, before Borte [the senior of Chingis' wives] spoke out: "Of Jamuga . . . people say that he loves the new and despises the old; now he has had enough of us. Do not his words conceal some hostile intention against us? We must not stop; we must march on through the night; it is better to be parted from him!" Temuchin said: "Borte speaks sense." So he did not stop [when Jamuga stopped] and went on into the night. At the end of that night march, when it began to dawn, behold, there were men of the Jalair clan . . . and of the Baarin clan . . . and all the men of the Mene-Baarin clan, all following Temuchin.
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> By "those who herd horses" Jamuga had meant the rich, the upper class of pastoral society, the steppe aristocracy; by "those who tend the sheep and lambs," the common people with whom he sympathized.

This anecdote is suggestive but rather slim evidence on which to base an argument for the existence of an active democratic movement on the Mongolian steppes at the begin-
565 ning of the thirteenth century. Vladimirtsov himself in his later work has largely reversed his former position. He writes:[134]

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[130] *Obrazovanie Imperii Chingis-khana*, 111.

[131] *Chingis-khan*, 41–42.

[132] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 58–60.

[133] Vladimirtsov, *Life of Chingis Khan*, 33–35.

[134] *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 83, 84.

> At the present time I should to a large extent alter this opinion. An analysis of the social phenomena which may be observed among the Mongols of the eleventh and twelfth centuries appears to me to indicate . . . that the process of the formation of the steppe aristocracy and the submission to them of the lower classes . . . in complex gens units, was completed at the end of the twelfth century. 565
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> . . . By that time the steppe aristocracy was numerous and powerful . . . . Of any kind of movement having a democratic character our sources do not speak directly. Even if, as is known, Chingis did support and advance the interests of the aristocrats, still it is necessary to observe that there frequently came to him loyal supporters from the lower classes of Mongol society.

Vladimirtsov finds the explanation of Jamuga's opposition to Chingis not in his championship of the poor and oppressed but in the fact that Jāmuga himself was exactly such a military leader of a petty tribal group as was Chingis himself at the time. Rivalry between such chieftains was, as noted above, a general pattern among the struggling nomadic lords of the steppes, each of whom was eager to advance himself at the expense of the others. It is not unlikely that Jamuga may have given outward support to the interests of the lower classes in order to attract followers to himself. Such political demagoguery need not have been unknown among the Mongols.

In any case, though the question is an interesting one, it need not be considered further here. Even assuming that such a democratic tendency did exist, any trace of it was effectively obliterated in the organization of the Mongol empire, and it would seem to have had little or no effect on the development of Mongol social structure.

BODYGUARDS

In the process of development of the power of the Mongol khans a large part was played 701 by their personal nököd (bodyguards, friends, companions). They were free individuals, usually of aristocratic lineage, forming the personal suite and staff of the military chiefs and khans.[185] They appear, however, to have served the leaders of groups other than their own by birth.[186]

The nököd accepted freely and voluntarily a personal allegiance to their lords. They were not vanquished subjects but rather free warriors electing to serve the master of their choice who became a sort of adopted suzerain.[187] To him they bound themselves by oath.[188] It is not clear whether after having done so they were at liberty to change to a different master, although there are numerous examples to indicate that in practice such desertions were not uncommon.[189]

There were numerous inducements to young men to enter the service of the military

[185] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 87.

[186] Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopiseĭ*, 1: 105; 2: 143.

[187] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 48; *Sbornik Letopiseĭ*, 1: 161, 164–65.

[188] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 49.

[189] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 88–89.

701 chiefs and khans as nököd.[140] The lords provided shelter, food, clothes, maintenance and above all opportunity for distinction in war and a share in plunder. Also it was an aristocratic profession attracting youths of the highest families. It is important here not to confuse the nököd, free warriors, with the unağan bo̤gol, the bond vassals. Members of the upper class of the vassal groups, however, might also become nököd.[141] Parents sometimes gave their children to a certain lord to be brought up in his service.[142]

The nököd, in the permanent military service of the khans, had little in common with the tribal militia which was mobilized in time of general war. Then all the men of the common people capable of bearing arms were summoned to the service of their leaders. But as professional soldiers the nököd frequently acted as captains and commanders of divisions of the militia.[143]

In addition to military service the nököd served their lords in time of peace as messengers, ambassadors, advisors and executive assistants. They were especially instrumental in organizing the large collective hunts which were comparable to military manoeuvers.[144]

[614] The development of the class of nököd had two very important effects on Mongol
[565] society. In the first place it tended further to break down the unity of the blood gentes
because the nököd customarily took service with groups not their own by birth and were placed in command of military units from strange tribes and gentes. More important, in the light of later events, they formed a corps d'élite from which, as the khans seized power over weaker groups, could be appointed not only military commanders but governors directly responsible to the khan, thus breaking the power of the gens aristocracies and paving the way to closely organized political units.[145]

FEUDAL FIEFS AND VASSALS

642 In a previous section we have noted the institution of vassalage whereby one group
423 became subject to another as its collective vassals. With the development, however, of the
565 power of the khans, culminating, of course, in the organization under the empire of Chingis
of "all the people dwelling in felt tents"[146] into one state, vassalage became in practice a subjection not to a group but to a particular lord or ruler. In theory, however, the idea of the dominant gens, or ruling family of blood relatives, remained because all the conquered groups, all the subjects of the khan, were considered as the vassals not of the ruler but of his family and his close kinsmen as represented by him. Thus Bartold says[147] that in the

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[140] *Idem*, 94–95.

[141] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 68.

[142] *Idem*, 49.

[143] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 91.

[144] *Idem*, 92–93.

[145] *Idem*, 96.

[146] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyi Stroi*, 86.

[147] *Turkestan*, 306–07.

view of the nomads the empire was the property of the whole family of the khan. Valdimirtsov writes:[148] 642 423 565

> . . . The "state" belonged to all the members of the gens of the particular individual who had established the dominion and become khan . . . all the tribes and peoples forming part of the empire of Chingis were considered as bond vassals (unagan bogol) of him and his gens. . . . The power of the gens of Chingis . . . over his "state" lay in this: that one of its members had become emperor . . . through his election by the council (xurultai) of all his relatives.[149]

As the authority of a khan became extended over a wider and wider area and over more and more tribes and gentes it became impossible for the vassal groups to lead a common joint nomadic life with the members of the ruling gens, as had formerly been the case. Gradually it developed that the new large vassal units were left to migrate and graze their cattle in their accustomed territories but were placed under the governance of a member of the paramount gens, a relative of the khan.

Every group of gentes, tribes, or fragments of different gentes, which was under the control of a particular leader or ruler was known as an ulus.[150] Thus during the period of Chingis' reign all the peoples subject to him might be considered as comprising one ulus while at the same time each of his relatives was master or lord of an ulus.[151] Valdimirtsov[152] translates ulus as "fief" or "dominions" with the notation that it must be understood as referring to people and not to land.

The male relatives of the khan were considered princes,[153] having the right to participate in the division of the ulus of the khan. To each of them was granted his own ulus or fief consisting of a number of subject tribes, the princes themselves thus becoming in a sense vassals of the khan insofar as he was considered head of the paramount gens. On their death their heirs, sons, nephews or other close relatives were confirmed in their position by the khan[154] and made acknowledgment of their dependence on him.[155] If the khan were sufficiently powerful he might deprive an unreliable vassal of his fief and award it to another.[156]

Here there is evident some contradiction between the concept of the khan as the representative of the ruling gens as a whole and as an absolute monarch. This disparity is apparent also in the fact that although according to the will of Chingis the khan might not

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[148] *Op. cit.*, 98–99.

[149] See also Elias and Ross, *Tariḳh-i-Rashidi*, 29.

[150] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 91.

[151] Abul Ghazi, *Shejrat ul Atraḳ*, 45, 383.

[152] *Op. cit.*, 97.

[153] Köbegün, meaning essentially "son" (Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 99).

[154] d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, 2: 204.

[155] Berezin, *Ocherḳ Vnutrennego Ustroĭstva*, 424; d'Ohsson, *op. cit.*, 2: 10–11.

[156] *Soḳrovennoe Sḳazanie*, 136; *Sborniḳ Letopiseĭ*, 2: 61–62.

642 on his own initiative punish one of his relatives,[157] yet it is stated in the Great Yasa[158]
423 that: "He ordains that even the senior of the emirs, if he has committed some offense shall
565 give himself up to the messenger sent by the sovereign to punish him. . . . " Riazanovskii however is quoting the fragment of the Yasa from Maqrizi's version[159] which may have been altered somewhat to accord with the latter's idea of the proper attributes of a sovereign.

In any case such centralization of authority did not continue for long. The number of fiefs was constantly increased by the practice of dividing up the ulus of a particular vassal among his descendants, so that the number of princes, vassals and sub-vassals was soon very large.[160] The constant tendency toward branching and subdivision became evident in the ruling gens itself which split up after the death of Chingis into rival and hostile families.[161]

In the process of feudalization it is not clear what was the fate of the minor aristocrats, the leaders and chiefs of groups other than that of the dominant khan. Koz'min[162] states that the aristocracy of the Mongol empire consisted of the aristocrats of all the peoples and tribes of which it was composed. Some families were no doubt annihilated in the wars leading to unification. It seems probable, however,[163] that most of them allied themselves with the rising power and retained immediate control of their people as sub-vassals dependent on the princes of the major fiefs.

[439] The unification of Central Asia under the feudal empire made safe the trade routes and greatly stimulated commerce between the nomads and the settled regions. A variety of products which formerly had been unknown to the Mongols now became available to them.[164] The increase of trade and the appearance of foreign goods did not however greatly
[231] alter the pastoral economy. Cattle breeding continued to be the chief occupation of the people but there is evidence that under the feudal régime the use and occupation of pasture land became strictly regulated. The fiefs had definite boundaries and within them the grazing lands of each group were strictly allotted. Carpini observes:[165]

> Moreover the emperor of the Tartars hath a wonderful dominion over all his subjects. For no man dare abide in any place unless he hath assigned him to be there. Also he appointeth to his dukes where they shall inhabit. Likewise the dukes assign places unto every millenarie or conductor of a

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[157] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 100.

[158] Riazanovskii, *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes*, 59.

[159] See Silvestre de Sacy, *Chrestomathie arabe*, 2: 160–64.

[160] *Sbornik Letopiseĭ*, 2: 60–63; Berezin, *Ocherk Vnutrennego Ustroĭstva*, 426; d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, 2: 7.

[161] Courant, *L'Asie centrale*, 35–36.

[162] *K Voprosy o Turetsko-mongol'skom Feodalizme*, 60.

[163] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 103–04.

[164] Bartold, *Turkestan*, 394; Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 44, 129–30; Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 63–64; *The Texts and Versions*, 194.

[165] *The Texts and Versions*, 120.

thousand soldiers and the millenaries unto each captain of a hundred, the captains unto each corporal of ten. 642

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565 Further there is some indication that the feudal lords were considered the personal owners and proprietors of the land occupied by their people, which formerly had been the property of the community as a whole.[166] Thus Rashid[167] describes Tuli, one of Chingis' sons, as "lord of the land (yurt) and dwellings" of certain tribes. Too many inferences, however, should not be made from this statement. Rashid was probably not making delicate distinctions, his own information may have been at fault, and his meaning may have suffered during successive translations. In any case, whether or not the feudal lord was considered owner of the land of his ulus he certainly administered its use and controlled the movements of his people rigidly.

The horses and cattle remained the private property of their individual owners, both [422] lords and commoners. Chingis declared[168] that, "A common man if addicted to wine stands to lose his horse, his cattle and all his property." But inasmuch as the ordinary Mongol was obliged to migrate in obedience to the wishes of his lord, and to graze his cattle in places assigned to him, his position in many ways was more that of a dependent herdsman than an independent master.[169] In addition every family of the common people had certain definite obligations to their seigneurs.

These obligations in their economic aspects consisted chiefly in providing the feudal lords with cattle for slaughtering and a certain number of mares for milking in proportion to the size of the owner's herds.[170] Similar requisitions had been made by the tribal chiefs previous to the organization of the empire but appear to have been of a somewhat haphazard and occasional nature.[171] Under Ogodai, the successor of Chingis, these were systematized and regulated.[172]

The organization of the economic administration of the conquered settled regions was more complicated. After the rise of the empire the Mongol khans began to assign fiefs among the agricultural populations to their princes but the land served them only as a source of revenue because the Mongols themselves were not able to administer such estates.[173] Local authority remained to some extent in the hands of the native rulers, while the Mongol overlords maintained personal agents whose principal duty was to collect

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[166] Kos'min, K *Voprosy o Turetsko-mongol'skom Feodalizme*, 12–20, 52–54.

[167] *Sbornik Letopiseĭ*, 3: 143.

[168] *Idem*, 3: 126.

[169] The Mongol author Ssanang Ssetsen, writing in the middle of the seventeenth century, indicates that the idea of a man without his overlord was inconceivable to the Mongols. See Ssanang Ssetsen, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen*, 187.

[170] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 113–14.

[171] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 76.

[172] d'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, 2: 14, 63; *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 158.

[173] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 114–15.

642 423 565 [212] taxes for their masters.[174] The Uighurs played an important part as agents, business managers, and advisers to the Mongol princes; they were responsible for the introduction of writing to the court of the khans,[175] and came to be a dominant force in all civil and cultural affairs of the empire.[176]

MILITARY ORGANIZATION

701 565 642 Of utmost importance in its far reaching effects upon the social structure of all the groups comprising the Mongol empire was the system of military organization instituted by Chingis. At an early point in his conquests (1204) the entire population was divided into a graduated series of units capable of furnishing ten thousand, a thousand, a hundred, or ten fighting men respectively.[177] These contingents replaced the former militia of the gentes and tribes.

Considered solely as a system of military organization these decimal units were nothing new. Similar divisions had existed in time of war among other Central Asiatic nomadic peoples[178] and in the Persian armies.[179] Cordier, in a note to Yule's commentary,[180] refers to them as existing in Annam in the tenth century A.D. The new features lay in their establishment as a permanent system and in the merging of the civil units, the feudal fiefs, with the military divisions.

Thus each feudal fief (ulus) according to its size coincided with one of the military groupings, and the feudal lords were at the same time commanders of a thousand or a hundred warriors, although certainly in any particular case these numbers were only approximate.

Here we may note how the previously existing institution of the nököd[1] was utilized to strengthen the new military feudal system. Although the great fiefs capable of furnishing a division of ten thousand men (tümen) were usually held by the princes of the house of Chingis, their subdivisions were in many cases apportioned among the former nököd, thus substituting for the independent leaders of the old gentes and tribes new feudal lords bound to the khan in direct personal allegiance with obligations of military service.[181] Such feudals, forming a nobility secondary to the princes (köbegün) of the reigning house, customarily ruled over fiefs capable of supplying a hundred or a thousand warriors. Each bore the title of noyan which formerly had been held by the chiefs of the gens aristocracies but was now applied to a secondary feudal lord and military commander. And in distinction to the old

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[174] Vernadsky, *Notes on the History of the Uighurs*, 457.

[175] Bartold, *Turkestan*, 387.

[176] Vladimirtsov, *Life of Chingis Khan*, 152; Fox, *Ghenghis Khan*, 124.

[177] *Sokrovennoe Skazanie*, 102–03; *Texts and Versions*, 124; Riazanovskii, *Customary Law of the Mongol Tribes*, 59, 69; Yule, *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1: 264; Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 102; Koz'min, *K Voprosy o Turetsko-mongol'skom Feodalizme*, 57.

[178] Vladimirtsov, *op. cit.*, 102.

[179] Yule, *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1: 264.

[180] *Loc. cit.*

[181] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 103–104.

[1] ["comrades". personal suite and staff of khans. For further data, see cat. 701, pp. 91-92 -- Analyst]

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nököd, and to the gens and tribal leaders, the new noyan could not avoid service or change 701
his allegiance.[182]

The development of the feudal fiefs and military units had a shattering effect on the old 701
Mongol gentes and tribes and on the social structure of all the peoples who were brought 619
within its scope. In the formation of the divisions of "ten thousand," "thousand," and 614
"hundred" many units were composed of contingents drawn from various tribes and gentes.[183] The organization of the "thousands" and the distribution of the feudal fiefs culminated in the disintegration of a whole series of Mongol tribes, as for example the Tatars, Merkits, Djadjirat, Naiman and Kerait, the remnants of which were in most cases scattered among the various fiefs and "thousands."[184] The least affected by these changes appear to have been the woodland groups to the north and west.[185]

In place of the old gens and tribal names appeared the names of the new "thousands" which, however, sometimes took over the name of the tribal group predominant in their feudal composition but also frequently adopted the names of their feudal and military leaders.[186]

After the death of Chingis, however, in 1227, the unity of the empire was soon lost. Although his son Ogodai was, as desired by Chingis, acknowledged as supreme khan of all the dominions, his control outside his immediate possessions appears to have been nominal. By 1257 rivalries between the descendants of Juchi, Jagatai, and Tuli, the other sons of Chingis, had developed into open war which split the empire into fragments. These fragments were not only hostile one to another but within themselves were constantly producing new political groupings.[187]

One of these new groupings, as we have seen at the beginning of this study, was that of the Kazak.

Following the breakup of the empire appeared an increasing dichotomy between east 177
and west. The Mongols were drawn into the orbits of Chinese and Tibetan cultures while
the Turkic tribes were exposed to the influence of Islam. The hold of Mohammedanism
upon the nomads, however, has always been very slight and its chief effects upon their
social structure appear to have been to facilitate the breakdown of exogamy and to estab-
lish a new class of "white bones" descended from Mohammedan saints. The conversion of [797]
the Mongols to Lamaism was much more far-reaching in its consequences. Nearly half the
male population became associated with monastic orders,[188] with the result that a predomi-
nantly military culture changed to a strongly ecclesiastical one.

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[182] Kos'min indicates that the vassal, in theory always and in practice under favorable circumstances, might be able to break his contract with his seigneur (*K Voprosy o Turetsko-mongol'skom Feodalizme*, 66).

[183] Courant, *L'Asie centrale*, 7; Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 109–10.

[184] Rashid-ad-Din, *Sbornik Letopiseĭ*, 1: 57–58, 63–64, 74, 114, 204; 3: 132–154.

[185] *Idem*, 3: 136.

[186] *Idem*, 3: 132–154.

[187] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 125–26; Asfendiarov, *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 65–66: Courant, *L'Asie centrale*, 35–36.

[188] Korostovetz, *Von Cinggis Khan zur Sowjetrepublik*, 52.

CONCLUSION

000 From the Kazak and Mongol material there appears specific evidence of two major processes which have operated in the development of Turco-Mongol social groupings: first, a constant tendency toward the division of existing groups by branching, and second, a movement toward the formation of larger units from smaller by fusion.

The first process is evident in the origin of new gentes, uru and obog among the Kazak and Mongols respectively, as a result of the separation from the gens of a few families which came presently to be considered an independent group. The same process may with minor variations be observed among other Central Asiatic and Siberian groups.

Thus Shchapov[1] describes Buriat social groupings:

> Each ulus[2] comprises a few enclosures . . . in each of which are one, two, three or more kibitkas together with outbuildings and sheds for storing fodder. The oldest man and his wife live in one of the kibitkas. In an adjacent kibitka lives the son of the old man with his wife and children. If the old man has other married sons they also have their own kibitkas on either side of their father's within the common enclosure. . . . Near by in another enclosure are the close relatives of the head of the first group . . . [and] beyond that, in other enclosures, are more distant relatives. Thus the community of blood relatives of an ulus as the family lines branch off is constantly forming separate enclosures, each with its group of kibitkas. Presently the more distant relatives form a separate ulus organized in the same way as a community of kinsmen.

In much the same way one of Seroshevskiĭ's informants described the development of Yakut groupings:[3]

> I will tell you how the gentes [Russian: rody] originated. Let us say that some old Yakut had two or three sons. They grew up, married and separated. Formerly there was much land and the Yakuts also kept many cattle, therefore they lived separately so that they might have plenty of room. So they became dispersed and multiplied. But meanwhile the old man had died and the original brothers had died. The flesh and blood relationship disappeared. The ancient Yakuts reckoned relationship *only to the ninth generation;* beyond that began the sygan concerning whom the old proverb says: "I need not disturb myself over such relatives if they fall in the water." Sygan of the ninth generation are already considered people of another gens with whom it is possible to marry. Each gens takes the name of one of the sons of the old man but all together are called by his own name. Such is the gens and such is the nasleg.[4]

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[1] Shchapov, *Buriatsḳaia Ulusnaia Rodovaia Obshchina*, 129.

[2] The Buriat apply the term ulus to a few closely related families. The much wider sense of the word in Mongol has been mentioned above. For its other applications among various peoples, see Czaplicka, *Aboriginal Siberia*, 56, note.

[3] Seroshevskiĭ, *IAḳuty*, 434.

[4] The Yakut nasleg consisted, as indicated in the quotation, of several gentes and might be translated as "tribe." The term, however, is not Turkic and may have been borrowed from the Tungus; see Seroshevskiĭ, *op. cit.*, 473 and footnote.

The mention of exogamy as determined by nine generations[5] of relationship is interesting in its probable relation to the Kazak "seven fathers" rule, to a consideration of which I shall revert presently. It may also be noted that relationship in general is designated among the Yakut by the word uru[6] and that during the libations accompanying the annual kumiss festival "all the people uttered the joyful cry 'Uru'."[7]

Yakut tradition refers to the establishment of new groups by the dissatisfied members of old ones,[8] and each son of the legendary hero was considered the ancestor of a section of the Yakut people.[9] Such a common ancestor was known as ebuge,[10] identical with the similarly used term among the Mongols.

The process of development of new gentes by branching has also been described by Shirokogorov[11] as it occurs among the Manchus. If a gens is growing rapidly it can generate new units which assume equal rights and functions with the parent gens[12] although retaining a sense of their common historical or legendary origin.[13]

Shirokogorov mentions also, though somewhat vaguely, the concept among the Manchu of the gens as determined by generations. After stating that a gens may produce new gentes by separation, he continues:[14]

> In the case where the great number of the clan members does not hinder the normal clan life and the members do not go far away, a *mokun* [the gens unit] may keep its organization without any change during nine generations, but the formation of a new *mokun* is strictly prohibited before five generations have elapsed since the last formation of the *mokun*. For example, if my *mokun* was founded by my grandfather, only my great grandson may form a new clan and always with special permission of the clan. But as a subjective notion *mokun* includes nine generations, so that I can say "my *mokun*" including in it only four senior, my own, and four junior generations.

Presumably, in speaking of the "subjective notion" of the mokun the author implies a contrast to an objective group consisting of the people actually living together as a functioning unit. I have indicated a similar contrast among the Kazak where the theoretical exogamic uru as determined by seven generations of descent from a common ancestor does not coincide with the named uru groups. The same confusion arises in connection with Buriat material. Thus Khangalov[15] states that a Buriat may not marry a woman of his own

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[5] The concept of the gens as determined by generations is also indicated in the statement of Seroshevskii's informant (page 455) that blood revenge might sometimes be carried on through nine generations. See also Sumner, *The Yakuts*, 72.

[6] Seroshevskii, *IAkuty*, 507.

[7] Jochelson, *The Yakut*, 203.

[8] Jochelson, *op. cit.*, 45.

[9] *Idem*, 199.

[10] Seroshevskii, *op. cit.*, 474.

[11] Shirokogorov, *Social Organization of the Manchus*, 17–19.

[12] Shirokogorov, *Social Organization of the Manchus*, 50.

[13] *Idem*, 58.

[14] *Idem*, 50–51.

[15] Khangalov, *IUridicheskie Obychai u Buriat*, 141.

000 gens, and then adds that relationship in the male line was an obstacle to marriage through nine generations.

The Yakut concept of the exogamic gens as defined by generations is apparent in the quotation given above from Seroshevskii's informant.

Present information is inadequate to explain completely the relation between group and generation exogamy, but it seems possible that the latter may have developed in connection with and as a result of the constant tendency of the gentes to give off branches, each of which considered itself related to the others and to the parent group by descent from a common ancestor. Thus as a result of rapid branching and formation of new groups, membership in different divisions might be no indication of the absence of close relationship which could be guaranteed only by the actual genealogies. The application of the method of reckoning possible matings by the number of intervening generations would then only be necessary between groups who were conscious of their recent separation. In other cases group membership would be accepted as indicative of a lack of close relationship.

The ultimate causal factor in the constant development of new groups appears to have been economic. Cattle raising could not be carried on in one place by large numbers of people because of the lack of sufficient grazing land. Sections of the original group therefore tended to depart in search of new pastures. Such an explanation of the branching process need not necessarily involve the assumption that the total number of groups was continually increasing. Some groups became extinct through the dying out of family lines or annihilation in war. In discussing Kazak uru genealogies my informants noted the names of several groups which had ceased to exist. Those which survived, however, and did increase in 161 numbers inevitably tended to split. That there was an actual growth of population which favored the branching process is indicated by census reports, although most statistics for the numbers of the nomads are little better than rough estimates. The Russian census figures for 1897 and 1911 which deal in very round numbers and do not distinguish carefully between different groups, suggest an increase in population during the fourteen year period of between fifteen and thirty percent for the various steppe tribes.[16] The Soviet census figures for 1926 are not readily comparable with these because of the different classifications employed. Levshin's estimate of the numbers of the three Kazak ordas together in 1832 as between two million and two million four hundred thousand[17] was based upon the guess of the Kazak themselves, who might more probably exaggerate than understate. That they did so is suggested by Ujfalvy's figures of 1,300,000 or 1,400,000 in 1878 which, however, are themselves without firm foundation.[18] According to the Soviet census of 1926 there were then 3,959,900 Kazak in Kazakstan and the other republics of Central Asia.[19] A comparison of Levshin's probably high estimate for 1832 with the 1926 figures suggests a possi-

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[16] See Czaplicka, *Turks of Central Asia*, 33–47.

[17] *Déscription des hordes*, 300.

[18] *Expédition scientifique*, 2: 25.

[19] *Handbook of the Soviet Union*, 7; figures for the 1936 census are not available.

161 ble doubling of the nomad population in slightly less than a hundred years. This is not a phenomenal growth[20] but it must be remembered that it was accomplished during a period of increasingly active domination by an alien culture such as is frequently marked by a decline of native populations. If maintained steadily over a period of several centuries it should be sufficient to necessitate the frequent formation of new groups in the pastoral economy.

On this point Bogoras writes:[21]

> Extensive cattle breeding, when practiced for a long period of time, like agriculture, creates abundancy of food and so makes it possible for the tribe to grow in numbers from one generation to another. In this way the tribes of real nomads increased largely and became populous nations numbered in hundreds of thousands. . . . On the other hand the tribes of the primitive culture, living with reindeer breeding, hunting or fishing never have large numbers. The paleoasiatics of Siberia . . . are numbered often in simple hundreds, or at the utmost in a couple of thousands.

Although increase in numbers was apparently the underlying cause of fission, the immediate causes were no doubt various, differing somewhat in each instance. Usually the process would appear to have been a gradual one in which the new group came to be considered as a separate unit only after several generations. The custom of giving to each son a share of his father's cattle, by which new economic nuclei were constantly being created, favored the centrifugal tendency. Quarrels between individuals, and the dissatisfactions and rivalries of different leaders and factions no doubt frequently produced sudden divisions within particular groups. My informants emphasized that disputes between the large herd owners over the use of pasture land would often end in the breakup of the group. Personal jealousies and dislikes easily led to separation, or even to the expulsion of minorities who must then shift for themselves.[22] Pallas[23] noted the frequency with which the clashing claims of rival relatives produced regroupings of the people among the Kalmyk. Also secession to minorities sufficiently organized to make use of it, was a means of escape from the exactions of overbearing rulers. In this connection Radlov remarks:[24]

> Die einzige Abwehr gegen Ungerechtigkeiten und Gewahltthätigkeiten ist eben festes Zusammenhalten der Familien und Nachbarn unter Anführung bestimmter Persönlichkeiten; in diesen Vereinigungen liegt der Keim zu immer neuer Gruppirung der Geschlechter.

The appearance of new groups by fission also took place on a larger scale than that represented by the branching out of blood related gentes. An excellent example of this is

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[20] See for example, Kroeber, *Peoples of the Philippines*, 26–29. The population of Java is stated to have increased fifteen times in less than a century and a half.

[21] Bogoras, *Paleoasiatic Tribes*, 260.

[22] The exclusion of Jaouredai from the gens sacrifices by his half-brother, as cited above, is a case in point. Jaouredai departed to establish his own group.

[23] Pallas, *Sammlungen historischer Nachrichten*, 1: 187.

[24] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 418.

000 the separation of the Kazak from the Usbeg as recorded in the *Tarikh-i-Rashidi.*[25] Concerning this event Elias[26] observes that it is "... valuable as showing not only how this particular tribe came into existence but generally how a new tribe with a new name may arise from mere local circumstances and passing events." The same process may be observed in the differentiation of the three separate Kazak ordas and the later emergence of the Bukei Orda as a distinct entity. A distinction, however, should be made between the branching process as revealed in the separation of such large bodies of people amounting to tens or hundreds of thousands, and as operative in the development of new gens units. The latter was essentially a splitting off of family groups while the former represented the breakup of old, and the beginning of new, political confederacies of frequently heterogeneous elements.

The formation of such confederacies, the amalgamation of lesser units into larger groupings, constitutes a second major process which was at work simultaneously with the branching tendency.

This process of amalgamation is evident on a small scale in the inclusion within the gens groups of individuals who belong by birth to other gentes. It is manifest also in the institution among the Mongols of subordinate or vassal gentes who lived and migrated with the members of the dominant group. These associations, however, are really social symbioses which may be distinguished from political unions wherein the component parts remain more or less distinct. The nature of what may be called tribal confederacies has been noted as they occurred among the Kazak and the Mongols. In many cases these confederacies were formed by groups which considered themselves more or less related by blood, but it is also apparent that political affiliations frequently cut across genealogical lines. Seroshevskiĭ[27] mentions alliances of Yakut gentes for defense and offense which appear to be distinct from other groupings as determined by blood relationship.

Several types of political amalgamations may be discerned varying according to origin. Some were entirely voluntary unions for mutual protection against attack and common aid in aggression on other groups. Others were the result of force by which one group was subdued by another but after which "former enemies quickly became loyal allies."[28] In the third type, which would appear to have been the most common, it is difficult to distinguish voluntary from involuntary motivation. Here the reputation and prestige of a successful leader acted as a magnet to attract to him followers and supporters, not only individually but as whole tribes. Radlov[29] has noted the effect of this process among the Kazak, and Bartold[30] suggests that the Kangli, who subsequently became a numerous people, were originally only the small following of a famous man of that name among the Kipchak. A fourth and quite distinct type of amalgamation was the imposition of a completely artifical system of administrative groupings in which former units were merged or broken up. The outstanding example of this was the reorganization of the tribes within the Mongol empire into divisions capable of furnishing ten thousand, a thousand or a hundred fighting men. At a later time a comparable realignment occurred on a smaller scale with the incorporation of the eastern Mongols into the Manchu military "banner" system.[31] The important point to note here is that such artificial groupings sometimes survived the system which produced them and became the bases of new federations. Thus Courant[32] points out that many of the nomad tribes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had originated as military divisions under the Mongol empire, and Yule[33] observes that the Karaunah tribe in Persia are first heard of as forming a tümen or division of 10,000 in the Mongol army.

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[25] Page 82, and see above page 13.

[26] *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 82, note.

[27] *IAkuty*, 460, 481.

[28] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 83.

[29] *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 238.

[30] *Kazak*.

Both major processes, the breaking down of old groupings and the building up of new ones from the fragments of the old may be observed in Mongolia in the period after the disintegration of the empire. Here the military-feudal formations into which the former gentes and tribes had been to a large extent absorbed, themselves disintegrated. In their place and from them developed during the fifteenth century new units (otok) organized on a territorial basis as the possessions of a particular prince. Instead of the decimal divisions of Chingis appeared a new military unit, the xoshun, which comprised the militia of the otok.[34] It is especially interesting to note that apparently there arose among the territorial otok new groups called aimak whose members were considered related by blood. The exact nature of the aimak in its relation to the otok and the old Mongol gens (oboğ) is not clear. Vladimirtsov writes:[35]

> The chief distinction of the aimaks from the otok was that those belonging to a particular aimak considered themselves one related group. The aimaks were of various sizes so that sometimes several aimaks might be found in one otok and at other times the aimak was co-extensive with the otok. It is likely that on a basis of territorial units arose two or more aimaks which then organized a new otok. It is important to observe a distinction between the aimak and the gens [Russian: rod], that is, the basic union of blood relatives. The aimak among the Mongols of the middle ages was a collection of nearly related families, a sub-tribe [?] and could consist of individuals belonging to different "bones" but who could trace their descent from one common ancestor. Thus the aimak was a union of relatives through their families, of different branches originating from the fragments of ancient gentes (oboğ)."

Although this statement does not greatly clarify the structure of the aimak it is important as indicating that throughout the constant realignment of groupings the principle of blood relationship remained active and continued to assert itself. In this connection Peisker[36]

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[31] Lattimore, *The Mongols of Manchuria*, 145–54.

[32] *L'Asie centrale*, 7.

[33] *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, 1: 101, note.

[34] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ*, 131–36.

[35] *Idem*, 137.

[36] Peisker, *The Asiatic Background*, 334–35

000 contrasts "the transitoriness of the wider unions on the one hand" with "the indestructibility of the clans and camps on the other" and concludes that "the greater unions caused by political circumstances, having no direct connection with the life and needs of the people . . . often cease after the death of their creator [while] the camps, the clans, and in part the tribes also, retain an organic life and take deep root in the life of the people."[37]

Accompanying the simultaneous processes of branching and amalgamation is the apparent growth of a type of patriarchal feudalism in which the relationship of master and man tended to absorb the relationship based on common membership in a blood group. Such a development is suggested by a comparison of the traditional solidarity of the blood group with actual practice. Thus Grodekov in stressing the importance of the principle of gens unity writes:[38]

> A person finds protection only in his tribe. The tribe answers for his conduct. The purificatory oath is imposed on the tribe, not on the individual. The penalty is paid and received by the tribe. For the non-payment of qun [wergild] not the murderer is killed but a man chosen from his tribe. A bride belongs to the tribe. . . .

Emphasis is given to this concept in the Kazak proverbs quoted by Grodekov:[39]

> Never go hunting with a man from a strange tribe: he may shoot you from the side.
> A fool will forget where he was born.
> Better to be a herdsman in one's own tribe than a tsar among a strange people.
> He who does not know the names of his seven ancestors is an apostate.
> A dog does not forget where he has eaten well; a man where he was born.

Dingelstedt sums up this view of Kazak life in the words:[40] "Le Kirghiz vit dans et pour sa tribu." Kharuzin also,[41] though largely on the basis of Grodekov's material, emphasizes the unity of the Kazak gens.

In practice, however, it appears that the principle of solidarity of the blood group was active mainly only so far as it affected the interests of its influential members. Nearly all writers on the Kazak have noted the dominance among them of the wealthy and powerful individual and the dependence on the rich of their poor and subservient relatives. The nature of this dependence has been stressed earlier in this paper and need not here be repeated. One may point out, however, that a similar emphasis on personal wealth and influence at the expense of the gens community is evident among other groups. Seroshevskiĭ's Yakut informant told him:[42] " 'He who was strong was right; . . . the strong and rich man, what he wished, he did'." And Jochelson states:[43] "The richest and strongest men were the chiefs. He who was feeble and weak lived in constant terror and only in a matter of life and death would he oppose the wishes of the rich and strong." Shirokogorov,[44] in discussing the solidarity of the Manchu gens as exemplified by the obligations of blood revenge, remarks: "If, for example, some influential member of the clan were to outrage an influential member of another clan, the two clans would become enemies." The repetition here of the word "influential" is significant and indicates that more than the claims of blood relationship were necessary to entitle a man to the benefits of group responsibility.

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[37] The latter part of this statement can be accepted only so far as it means the recognition of kinship between related groups. Actually, as has been shown, the "camps" and "clans" were not stable.

[38] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 12.

[39] *Idem*, 13.

[40] *Le Droit coutumier*, 247.

[41] Kharuzin (N. N.), *Etnografiia*, 1: 2, 231–34.

[42] *Iakuty*, 455.

On the basis of the Kazak material it appears that the solidarity of the blood group was expressed not as a generalized responsibility of all its members for one another but rather as a personal dependence of the weak upon the strong. The former was perhaps the theory; the latter certainly the practice. In its ideal form, of course, this dependence implied reciprocal obligations of protection in exchange for service which might closely approach a condition of group solidarity.

There seems to be little evidence,[45] however, to indicate a time when the blood group was an integrated unit not dominated by distinctions of wealth and power. All that may safely be said is that there appears to have been a gradual intensification of such distinctions.[46] The growth of these distinctions could account for the contradictions between the theory and practice of group solidarity. Thus it is possible that as wealth tended to concentrate in the hands of fewer owners the poorer members of the group became increasingly dependent on them and the protective functions of the gens were transferred from the community as a whole to its masters.

In conclusion it is probably unnecessary to point out that none of these processes of fission, fusion and feudalization[47] can be regarded as abstract drives or automatic adjustments to social urgencies. Always the specific historical circumstances and cultural milieu must be borne in mind as they tended to favor or inhibit their development. In particular, further study is needed: first, of contacts between the nomads and the sedentary peoples to the east, south and west,[48] and second, a more detailed examination of the precise cultural settings in which the processes operated.

[43] *The Yakut*, 47.

[44] *Social Organization of the Manchus*, 59.

[45] Parker (*A Thousand Years of the Tartars*, 85) refers to an unspecified Chinese source which says of the Sian-Bi nomads of the first centuries of the Christian era: "From the chiefs down each man had his own flocks and herds and managed his own property. No man served another." This, however, is very meagre and unreliable information.

[46] Vladimirtsov, *Obshchestvennyĭ Stroĭ* 70, 74.

[47] I succumb, with apologies, to the tempting alliteration.

[48] See also Koz'min, *K Voprosy o Turetsko-mongol'skom Feodalizme*, 74–75.

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/For a discussion of the processes of fusion, fission and feudalization which have operated in the development of all Turco-Mongol social groupings, see category 116, pp. 98-105.--Analyst/